

**ERNEST TRUPMM
AND
W.H. McLEOD
As Scholars of
Sikh History Religin
And Culture**

TRILOCHAN SINGH

INTERNATIONAL CENTRE OF SIKH STUDIES
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Dr. Trilochan Singh and Anurag Singh (1994)

ERNEST TRUMPP AND W H MCLEOD
AS SCHOLARS OF SIKH HISTORY, RELIGION AND CULTURE
by
DR TRILOCHAN SINGH

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*To the Memory
of My Friend*

Duncan Greenlees

*Roman Catholic Scholar
and Authentic Exponen of
Sikhism and Guru-Granth Sahib
And other works n Christianity, Buddhism
Islam, Zarathustra and Prophet Mani etc.*

Distorted Jap(U) Pauris 1, 2, 3 in GNDU/MS/1245 - Plate I	facing page 363
Distorted Jap(U) Pauris, 4, 5, 6 in GNDU/MS/1245 - Plate II	facing page 364
Distortion by Changing Verse Order of Guru Arjun's hymn in GNDU/MS/1245	facing page 365
Shocking Alterations in Var Gauri of Guru Arjun in GNDU/MS/1245 Folios 324-328 Plaes 1-X	facing page 366
Fabrication in GNDU/MS/1245, Autograph of Guru Tegh Bahadur attributed to Guru Hargobind	facing page 381

FOREWORD

In the early 1960s in Uganda I was trying to teach Great Scriptures of the World to my American students. I very much wanted them to have the benefit of knowing something of the Guru Granth Sahib but finding a serviceable and handy translation seemed impossible until I came upon a copy of the UNESCO Selections from the Sacred Writings of the Sikhs of which Dr. Trilochan Singh was the premier translator and editor. Since then I have tried to read everything he has written on Sikhism in English. His is a powerful and beautiful English prose second to no other on Sikhism themes during this century. But in addition the deep profundity of his understanding of Sikh mysticism, his grasp of the inner meaning of Sikh spirituality and the dimensions of his love for the teaching of the Gurus, put him high in the ranks of those who have tried to promulgate the Sikh message in English.

I would prefer to focus on his expositions of the life and teaching of the Gurus but in the meantime a sad skirmish has arisen to throw up a dust storm which gets in the eyes of poor scholars coming to do reverence to Sikhism and study the Gurus. Dr. Trilochan Singh has for years given close attention to the way in which foreign scholars have studied and written about Sikhism. Since at the moment the cloud of misunderstanding is increasing in density, he has decided to publish at once that part of his findings which deals with two notable scholars from abroad who most clearly illustrate some of the utterly sad and tragic mishaps which have befallen one of the most exciting cultural encounters in history, that is, the meeting between the teachings and life of the Sikhs and the mind of Western

scholarship. His purpose is to clear the dust and to promote understanding. I very much hope he will soon complete and publish the full scale work in which the work of Cunningham and Macauliffe will sweeten and temper the whole.

My western friends and colleagues for all their open mindedness and willingness to learn will be angry. They will within their own methodologies accept some points and deem others unfounded or unfair. But they will overall reject the brunt of what is being said. But this is a work to be likened to the genre “A Mirror to Princes.” An honest, clear-thinking Sikh somehow still unbrainwashed by western academic method, with his mind saturated with traditional Sikh scholarship and his life permeated with a praxis which goes back in unbroken succession to the Gurus themselves, is telling us something. He may seem innocent of our kind of critical demolition of the tradition as received but he is logical in his own kind of logic and he is steeped in an understanding of the whole literature in the original which no foreign scholar can hope to equal. He is holding a mirror to certain persons, certain groups, and saying “This is how you look to a beholder.”

Dr. Trilochan Singh's book is not only “A Mirror to Princes,” it is the presentation of a tragedy after the fashion of Kalidas, Aeschylus and Shakespeare. The main *personae* “persons” in the drama, wearing their “*prosopa* “, “personalities” “masks”, outfits as seen by the outside observer,” are three. There is Dr Ernest Trumpp. Dr Trilochan Singh depicts him as the lackey of the missions and the British, the victim of his own arrogance. He also shows him to us as the scholar who first accurately revealed the Guru Granth Sahib as an unsurpassed treasury of clues to the history of the North Indian languages. He clearly presents and rejoices in Trumpp's achievement in so acutely and accurately explaining some of the metrical secrets of that great Scripture. At the same time he sets out the scene in which Trumpp vitiated his own endeavor by insulting the Holy Book and

the *Granthis* and *Gianis*. He tells of the Preface Trumpp wrote so heedlessly and needlessly: one of greatest still-circulating monuments to European racist arrogance. Its pages from then till now have brought misfortune on the work and memory of Ernest Trumpp.

If we look at the official German biographical reference works concerning Professor Trumpp we read of a son of the Manse born in 1828 who achieved a brilliant student career in Theology, Greek and Latin. He followed up with Sanskrit. Because of his part in the liberal revolutions of 1849 he had to get out of Germany. He found a job as an Assistant in the East India Company Library. In 1852 the Church Missionary Society was looking for a language expert and lexicographer and sent him to India, the land of his fantasies and dreams. Perhaps Karachi never has been a dream village but there he did great things in Sindhi and “Neo-Persian” (Urdu).

In a pilgrimage visit to Jerusalem he met his first wife who within a year died in circumstances he associated with the last great struggle of pre-colonial India to throw off the outsider. Trumpp crept home broken in body and mind. Within a few years, thanks to the loving care of his second wife who cherished and strengthened him throughout everything, he had recovered enough to go again to India. At Peshawar he did fundamental work into Pashtu and the relationship of the Iranian and Indian languages. Yet again his health broke down and he struggled home.

Some ten years later the British government of India asked him to do a translation of the Holy Book of the Sikhs. Trumpp sensed that the Books and notes he had would not be enough and he would need local help. Despite medical advice he went to Lahore’

Dr Trilochan singh tells us of how the British agents convened a meeting of Sikh *gianis* and *granthis* who met with Dr Trumpp as he was trying to understand the Holy Book. Apparently he lit a cigar and in other ways showed total disregard for elementary good manners and decorum.

From the vantage point of outside spectators of the drama looking on a century and more later, we can see the pathetic agony of both sides. The Sikh scholars were at the lowest point of their humiliation just before the Singh Sabha and other movements arose to revive their *chardi-kala* (undefeatable optimism like the waxing moon). This un-speakably arrogant outsider exhibited his disdain for them and their Gurus and their Holy Book. They showed their own good manners and restraint by not striking him down. They withdrew in silent dignity. Oral tradition at Amritsar still tells the story of Trumpp and his cigars and his feet on the table. Dr Trilochan Singh retells the story in terms by which a foreigner is able to grasp its full horror and shame. Macauliffe was able to write early in the twentieth century of his work on the Holy Book as “a kind of reparation.” The work of reparation is still by no means complete.

On his side Trumpp who had thrown away one of the noblest possibilities of foreign scholar has ever been granted, and having guaranteed his own failure, turned back to his Indo-Germanic book etymologies and brahminical Sanskrit helpers. He was too good a scholar not to have realized the inadequacy of both sources for the purpose in hand. Far from home, tired, frustrated, going blind, in the grip of a breakdown, he again turned towards home broken in spirit and body. His pride and arrogance had postponed for a whole generation one of the finest opportunities any scholar can have.

St. Paul says although we may have every brilliance and skill and wisdom, even if we give up our lives, it profits nothing if we lack love. The Gurus says if we wish to play the game of love we must bring our head in our hand. Love includes humility, surrender and submission.

On his return to Germany Trumpp recovered enough to achieve promotion to the Professorship of Oriental Languages at Munich. He continued important research into Indian languages, Arabic and Ethiopic. Before the Royal Bavarian Academy he delivered a lecture on Guru Nanak

which was published. In 1871 he published his *Adi Granth*, in which his Preface speaks for itself, as Dr Trilochan Singh so ably shows us. Probably it contributed to the refusal of the Government in India and of Max Mueller to publish the finished work. (Mueller's series, Sacred Books of the East, made the world's Scriptures, except the *Guru Granth Sahib*, available in English translation in University libraries throughout the world.)

Trumpp complains in his Preface that his eyesight was failing. His behaviour at Lahore indicates his other problems as well. The German reference sources conclude by saying he was a founder of the new Indian philology and gain an honorable place in the ranks of the orientalists of the century. They add that he died blind and deranged in 1885.

The second *persona* or *prosopon* (Latin and Greek for the actor's mask and thence of the "personality" presented in a drama) is Dr W. Hewat McLeod who is presently Professor of History at the most senior University of New Zealand. Dr Trilochan Singh speaks of this gentleman's personal modesty and quietness. Indeed this is true. He is exemplary in his personal life, a loving friend, father and husband, a householder generous in service and hospitality. He loves the Punjab and has devoted his life to Sikh studies. To be unable to travel freely in the Punjab is to him the bitterest of exiles. How does he come to be the monster-figure who as Dr Trilochan Singh points out is how he appears to be in the sight of many honest and distinguished Sikh scholars? How can he appear to so many learned scholars to be undermining the very foundations of the edifice they are trying to build? That edifice is a joint intention to build an international academic structure of sound learning able to prosper amid the buffets and storms of the next centuries. Or to vary the metaphor, Sikhism is leaping the gap between old and new, between oriental and ecumenical. Apart from the innate difficulty of the task, there are many who are inimical to the attempt. One has to

ask, why does a self-professed friend, servant and lover of Sikh teaching and culture appear to join the deadliest enemies just at this most hazardous moment?

Dr McLeod cannot see the situation in these terms. He is devoted to Sikh studies and for that reason he seeks the truth according to the methods of critical scholarship as he understands them. It is not possible for him to allow that the methods in the hands of outsiders and without the considered co-operation of the community to which these truths have been committed, cannot lead to the wholeness of truth. All he sees it, to compromise would be to betray the truth and those Sikh scholars who agree with him against what he considers a militant segment who have chosen to oppose his work by means which jeopardise the whole enterprise.

As the chorus in this drama we will take some steps to right and left and in unison call upon the divine for help and bewail the human condition which makes our strengths into weaknesses and makes us victims of our fatal flaws. Other clues to the mystery may be discovered by looking at the third *persona dramatis* Dr Trilochan Singh presents. This third *persona* is what he terms the Berkeley-Batala missionary group. By this one must suppose he means a few scholars who were at Batala a quarter of a century ago when Dr McLeod was there. Some of them met again at conferences held at the University of California at Berkely in 1979 and 1985 and published their papers from there. But Dr McLeod has in a recent statement said "I have not been a missionary for many years," probably since that same quarter century which has gone by. He continues: "I am not a Christian, nor even a believer." Certainly there is no one competent to do deep research into Sikhism at Berkely at the present time or indeed for some time past.

Few Sikhs have studied in detail the history of the Christian missionary movements. The Batala people of the old days came mainly from the Presbyterian and central Anglican background. The Presbyterian Church in South

Island New Zealand from which Dr McLeod came has been with occasional lapses notably liberal, academic and non-proselytizing. The tradition of Alexander Duff of Calcutta and Charles Forman of Lahore is also in the back-ground of his time as a missionary. In the late 1960s this kind of missionary had realised and repented for the mistakes and sins of the nineteenth century. They were seeking to be “a Christian Presence Among Other Religious.” Dr. C.H. Loehlin was a staunch exponent of this school but was reaching the age limits for service in the field and indeed his academic limits. Hew McLeod was sent for deeper study to the School of Oriental and African studies at London. Some young Sikh scholar would do well to study the interweaving of high academic achievement, imperialism, missionary in-terest with post: Jewishness, post-Christianity and Marxist theory (among other things) which has ebbed and flowed there. Thus Dr McLeod re-entered the main stream of the western University and European (including British and American) thought. He remains a clear-sighted, hard-working, immensely able devotee of the ideals of the western University. He is obedient to the truth as he sees it from within that point of view.

Western thought as summed up in the western University has for two hundred years boasted of an “Enlightenment.” There is no need of a God-hypothesis. To this view-point everything said about the divine and revelation must be a human artefact and explained in non-supernatural terms. Community belief and tradition cannot discover historical truth in the way that critical and analytical scholarship can. Everything must be critically studied. Things were seen in terms of problems which could be Isolated and analysed by the human itellect. But below all this high academic endeavour the most deadly features of the clerical medieval University remain. These include the desire to remake others in one’s own image the conviction that there is one truth and its servants have the only methods for reaching it, and the need to bring all others by all means to that truth.

In this atmosphere it is hard to believe in any religion. At times it seems everything traditional and religious must be a construct of the human mind, analyzable and to be evolved beyond as we become modern. Christianity has two centuries of this kind of modern critical scholarship and I have myself watched the process closely for half a century. Dr McLeod found himself unable to be a believer. One respects and admires his honesty and understand the logic of his position. In my own case I have sometimes had to put belief and criticism in watertight compartments but more often I have found it good to call pure intellect to a temporary halt and seek the company of people living out the religious life and giving it meaning. They encouraged me to go on with the critical path for if it were really true it must lead to the truth itself. More recently the latest up-to-date critical methods have begun to lift us out of textual and historical analysis into trying to grasp large issues for instance of discourse, of narratology, of overall inner meaning and intent, of the importance of the community and its vocation and beliefs and traditions. The western University has had a bad habit of being monolithic and killing other ways of higher education. It has tended also to obliterate religious belief. But these things need not be so. If religious people turn their backs on the University they themselves will suffer from their own seminary-like lack of cross-fertilization. The University also suffers if it refuses to include the highest spiritual dimensions of knowledge and the ferment they bring. There is a way for them to live together. It is in the light of all this that one must appeal to all concerned to give heed to the needs of the young. Whatever else Dr McLeod and his friends and many Sikh well-wishers of the University idea have achieved or not achieved, four posts at least in Sikh studies have been set up in the North American Universities. Studies of any sort related to religion are hard enough to get into and maintain in the system. The position of a young scholar without tenure

fulfills the hazards *of* the *siege Perilous of* King Arthur's rough table. Let us be careful not to endanger the future *of* these hardwon positions, let us not embitter the lives *of* incumbents with any needless hullabaloo. In the Universi-ties *of* the Punjab many young scholars may be scared away from vital religious research. The present ferment and flour-ishing of Sikh studies could be lost. Sikhs have their own ways *of* settling matters despite the too easy sad recourse to creating a public tumult or appealing to an outside tribu-nal. There is a middle way between extreme western-style critical study and the kind of fundamentalism which has grown up among certain Christian groups in America. This can be created by a grafting of the home-grown, *deshi*, or-ganic, traditional community type critical and exegetical heritage and stock onto a selective and critical use *of* western method. Dr Trilochan Singh's work puts before us a vision of this way ahead.

So I commend to you Dr Trilochan Singh's thought provoking and powerful study. He comes into the struggle in a manner reminiscent of his chivalrous forebears repel-ling the invaders in the eighteenth century, raining blows on all sides. It is a glorious effort and Dr. Singh is seen for who he is, a true scholar gentleman and a noble Knight of the Order of the Honourable Khalsa, the lion-hearted

*Professor Emeritus of History and Comparative
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Santa Cruz, USA.
8th Feb. 1993*

NOEL Q. KING

PREFACE

Sikhism was born in the age of crisis. During the life time of Guru Nanak-Guru Gobind Singh (1469-1708) and during the successive eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Sikhism and Sikhs have faced vigorous internal and external attacks not only on its history, doctrines and culture but on its very existence, The history of the Sikhs blazes with their passion for religious, cultural and political freedom. The story of every decade is the story of heroic martyrs and relentless fighters for complete freedom and independence in their Homeland, Punjab. Time and again they have faced internal treachery, external betrayals by machiavellian Delhi Rulers. Worst sufferings have been heaped on them when their Holiest of the holy shrines the Golden Temple Complex have been desecrated in a bar-baric manner ruthless attacks are mounted on their Sacred Books and Culture, The last two decades in the so called free and democratic India has been the most crushing antagonistic period in our history. As I have been eye-witness to everything that has happened between 1943-1993, the sorrows and sufferings of the Sikh people, particularly Sikh youth has left deep wounds in my heart and soul. Honestly written history will not fail to record them.

Sikhs are a National Cultural Minority who have been taught by their ten Prophets that their religion and culture cannot survive without complete political liberty and their political liberty cannot survive without the humanly and. Spiritually elevating moral values of their faith. Equally worst and, shocking have been the ideological attacks on Sikh religion and history by Sant-cults, Christian missionary groups and Hindi-Hindu Imperialists who have even burnt their

secular robes and masks of democratic postures. I repeat what I wrote in my book *Responsibility of Sikh Youth* in 1982 (reviewed by all National English Dailies). “Every young Sikh must know that in history, even the daggers of oppression have strengthened us. Even our suffering has protected us. There always have been and there still are slanderers, apostates, and traitors of truth and righteousness. No one should ignore one great fact: “We Sikh are anchored to our destiny and our destiny is in the hands of our ever-living Guru Nanak-Guru Gobind Singh. They were prophets of hope and vision and from their prophetic vision we have to recast our future.”

During the period 1870-1894 British Imperialism cre-ated conditions congenial for hostile writers and scholars like Dr Ernest Trumpp and the various Hindu Cults like the Arya Samaj. During the period 1970-1993 Nehru dynasty which became synonymous with Congress Party has supported the anti-Sikh Sant-cults of North India, Marxists, Materialists, unscrupulous opportunists in our Universities to create conditions quite suitable for self-style scholars of Sikh religion and history like Dr Hew McLeod. The damage. done by Dr Hew McLeod and his Christian Missionary group 1 is staggering and stupendous. Hence the need of this book.

In 1963 Swami Nityaswarupananda invited me to the East-West Philosophers Conference held jointly by Ramakrishna Mission and UNESCO at the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, Gol Park, Calcutta, the opening session of which was addressed both by Dr S. Radhakrishnan and Pundit Jawahar Lal Nehru. In this week long seminar it was a privilege to meet many eminent scholars from East and West. It was during this seminar when I asked Dr RC. Majumdar the reasons why he gave up the government project of writing “History of Freedom Movement”. Dr RC. Majumdar told me a startling story of how Pundit Jawahar Lal Nehru tried to impose his policy of deliberately eliminating the major Role of Punjab and Bengal in the official history of Freedom Movement during

British Raj.

Fortunately Dr RC. Majumdar has put on record all he said in his Lecturers: “*Historiography in Modern India: Memorial Lectures in honour of Rev Henry Heras SJ*, Spanish historian and Indologist. Dr RC. Majumdar writes, ‘The attitude of the British Government towards Cunningham who dared include unpalatable truths in history, has not quitted India along with the British, and an Indian historian today is not always really free to write even true history if it is likely to offend the ruling party. I know from personal experience that any expression of views not in consonance with the officially accepted views is dubbed as anti-national and is likely to provoke the wrath of the Government.’” (p. 52)

Dr RC. Majumdar adds, “The real purpose of history is to report correctly the progress of events which did not in all cases mark the progress towards liberty. When all this is coupled with a definite instructions for avoiding mention of violent deeds or even such facts as militate against the concept of National solidarity or international peace, we cannot but feel that Gandhian philosophy which sought in vain to regenerate politics by infusing morality into it in inoculating history with moral ideas. It may be a laudable project, but then, I would humbly suggest that history as a subject of study be omitted from our curriculum, and replaced by books containing Gandhian philosophy and morality. The lack of knowledge of history may perhaps be made good by development of moral character.” (p.54).

Referring to the attitude of Pundit Jawahar Lal Nehru’s Government, Dr RC. Majumdar writes: ‘They (the government) are not willing to tolerate any history which mentions facts incompatible with their ideas of National integration and solidarity. They do not enquire whether the facts stated are true or the views expressed are reasonable deductions from facts but condemn out-right any historical writing which in their opinion are likely to go against their views. All these things are done in the name of National Policy. But it

violates the only national policy which cannot be challenged by any party namely "Truth Shall prevail." (p 55)

During Pundit Jawahar Lal Nehru's regime, the Sikhs continued to hope against hope that this National policy of Free India will give to the Sikhs and other religious, linguistic and tribal minorities their minimum political and cultural rights. But National policy of integration and solidarity put into practice by Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Mr Rajiv Gandhi culminating in Blue Star Operation, Delhi Riots and mass-murders by continuing police and para-military Raj have completely shattered these hopes. For nearly two decades Punjab and a few other states have not known what Rule of Law and Justice of Central Govt is ? A whole generation has grown with deep scars on their minds, hearts and soul. India today faces the same situation which Soviet Union faced before its total collapse.

Bengal and some States in the South have succeeded in preserving their regional history and culture, because they had dynamic scholars and historians. Many of them have been my personal friends. But in Punjab, Delhi and the Hindi Belt politicians, professors, writers, historians, and journalists have been cheaper than Australian sheep and Spanish mules. Some of them boast of their importance in terms of the patronage and the money they receive and they are not ashamed of writing against their own people, their own Home-State, and their own mother-tongue and mother-culture. They are richly rewarded for helping in National integration and National solidarity by blindly helping repression and wanton destruction of all that is precious for the history and culture of our people.

Our newly created Universities have become well organized intellectual centres for contamination of language and literature, corruption of authentic philosophy and , shameful distortions of Sikh history and Scriptures. Although voices were raised from the outside, these perverted but glamorous academic balloons have started exploding from within. It is not incidental that Dr Hew McLeod's

books written with a professed motive of mutilating and falsifying Sikh history and religion established a nexus with like mind-ed professors and scholars in two Universities of Punjab only in the eighties.

In all my books and research papers, and even in newspaper articles my stand has been quite consistent. In the context of all that is happening today it can be summed up in the words of an eminent historian thus: "I would not mind in the least whether Truth is or is not a blow to the glory of my country. If necessary, I shall bear with patience the ridicule and slander of friends and society for the sake of preaching Truth." But still I shall seek Truth, understand Truth and accept Truth. Neither the present policy of the Indian Government, nor the equally sinister future programmes of the Communists and Hindu fundamental-ists like B.J.P. nor isolated but virulently hostile coterie of Christians like Dr Hew McLeod Group in Berkley and Toronto having some support from like minded accomplic-es in our Universities can ever succeed in clouding the truth about Sikh people, their religion, and history for long. The darkest clouds of false-constructions and mischievous lies published to slander the Sikhs and Sikhism cannot succeed in either demoralizing or crushing Sikhs and Sikhism.

E,462 *Bhai Randhir Singh Nagar*,
Ludhiana-141 001, Punjab (India)
12th Feb. 1993

TRILOCHAN SINGH

A TRIBUTE TO THE AUTHOR

Dr Trilochan Singh's life was dedicated to the *sadhana* (spiritual discipline) of scholarship committed to spread the light of the message of the Sikh Gurus as contained in the Sikh scriptures. He established his command over Sikh history, philosophy, theology and scriptures and the fruits of his intense labours and researches have come to us in the form of well-researched biographies of Guru Nanak, Guru Hari Krishan, Guru Tegh Bahadur, authentic translations of *Adi Sri Guru Granth Sahib* and *Dasm Granth* and 20 books in English and over 200 learned research papers on the same subject. In his mother tongue Punjabi, he had written much on literary criticism and had produced remarkable translations of classical writings of Plato, Confucius, Spinoza, Vivekananda, Tagore and Dr Radhakrishnan.

His first-work - *The Sacred Writings of the Sikhs*, a UNESCO publication of which he was the chief translator and editor (Allen and Unwin) published in 1960 was the first real presentation in English of the hymns of the Sikh Gurus and medieval Saints and *Bhaktas*. It stimulated interest of the Western Scholars in Sikhism.

Dr Trilochan Singh was the first scholar to present the true lives and times of Guru Nanak, Guru Hari Krishan and Guru Tegh Bahadur. The creative power, the originality of his method, the courageous confrontation of unsolved historical problems, the acute analysis and exposition of historical evidence and careful marshalling of all available details were collated into stirring narratives of the lives and times of Guru Nanak, Guru Hari Krishan and Guru Tegh Bahadur. These biographies make the

readers feel as if they have established a holy communion with the Gurus and their divine compositions.

Dr Trilochan Singh was the first scholar to present to the English speaking world the Hymns of Sikh Gurus with detailed commentary in 1975 with the publication of his book "*Hymns of Guru Tegh Bahadur : Songs of Nirvana*". Professor K.R Srinivasa Iyenger, Vice-President, Sahitya Akademi (National Academy of Letters) writes" "The com-mentary is redolent of the panorama of the global land-scape of the spirit... One light reinforces another, rivers meet and mingle many colours from a variegated spec-trum and so *Guru-bani* becomes in Dr Trilochan Singh's hands a series of magic casements opening on the infin-itudes of the spiritscape".

Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, President, National Academy of Letters India, writes: "Dr Trilochan Singh knows not only the language of the scriptures, his own mother tongue Punjabi, but also Udru, Persian, Sanskrit, Hindi and several other languages and I can testify to my personal knowledge of his very close acquaintance with the Bengali language also. His is a rare accomplishment". Dr Trilochan Singh had also the distinction of having delivered lectures at nine Indian Universities, six Uni-versities in Britain and various Universities and institu-tions in U.S.A. viz. Bucknell, Washington, New York, Pitts-burgh, Kingston, Boston, .Hanover, Portland, Modesto, Stockton, Yuba City, Los Angeles, Berkeley on Sikh religion, history, philosophy and culture. He also read learned papers at International Conference held in Britain in 1976. His Calcutta University lectures were published as "*Ethical Philosophy of Guru Nanak*" and his learned paper read at the Annual Conference of the Standing Conference on Inter-faith Dialogue in the Field of Education in Bedford in 1977 was published in the book "*Death*" edited by John Prickett.

Dr Trilochan Singh was the only scholar who during his stay in U.K. in 1976-77 successfully pleaded for the

rights of the Sikhs to wear a turban (Turban case), first by appearing as defence witness in Aylesbury Crown Court of the Honourable Judge Lawrence Verney then by writing an authoritative book "*The Turban and Sword of the Sikhs*" and later on in the final stages by pleading the case with the British M.P.s., and when Lord Avebury, the liberal member presented the bill in the House of Lords on 5th October, 1976, Dr Trilochan Singh was present in the House of Lords as a special invitee. I would like to quote from the report of House of Lords, the speech of Lord Avebury: "My Lords... I have had the benefit of advice from one of the foremost & distinguished scholars of the world, Dr Trilochan Singh... To quote from a book of Dr Trilochan Singh shortly to be published" 'The Turban of the Sikhs is not merely a head dress. It is inseparably connected with Sikh baptism and the Sikh Code of Conduct. That is as authoritative a statement and interpretation of the scriptures as you will get, as in the Sikh religion there is not hierarchy of clerics who can add to or embellish the doctrine as time goes by". He also witnessed the glowing tributes paid to the integrity, heroism and character of the Sikhs in British Parliament by members of the Parliament namely Mr. Kenneth Marks, Mr. Cyril Smith, Mr. Frank Hatton, Mr. John Ovenden, Sir Geroge Sindair, Mr. Winston S. Churchill (grandson of Wartime P.M. Mr. Churchill), Lord Mowbray, Stourton, Earl Grey. The 'Turban Victory' in U.K. helped the Sikhs to win the same battle in Canada.

Dr. Trilochan Singh has rendered a great service to Sikhism by writing his last book titled "*Ernest Trumpp and William Hewat McLeod as Scholars of Sikh History Religion and Culture*", exposing threadbare the evil intentions of Christian Missionaries, Ernest Trumpp and W.H. McLeod and Sikh scholars of their ilk-Pashaura Singh and Dr Piar Singh who have intentionally misrepresented Sikhism. The book is the result of author's tireless exertions, careful study of historical documents and interpretation of scriptures in

an unbiased manner. The learned scholar has demolished the edifice of distortions and misinterpretations of Sikhism faulted by Dr Trumpp, Dr McLeod, Dr Piar Singh and Pashaura Singh with malafide intentions. Dr Noel Q. King has rightly opined in the Foreword: “This is a work to be likened to the genre, a Mirror to Princes. An honest, clean- thinking Sikh somehow still unbrainwashed by western academic method, with his mind saturated with tradition-al Sikh scholarship and his life permeated with a praxis which goes back in unbroken succession to the Gurus themselves in telling us something. He may seem innocent of our kind of critical demolition of the tradition as received but he is logical. in his own kind of logic and he is steeped in an understanding of the whole literature in the original which no foreign scholar can hope to equal. He is holding a mirror to certain persons, certain groups and saying, ‘This is how you look to a beholder’. Dr Trilochan Singh’s book is not only ‘A Mirror to Princes’, it is the presentation of a tragedy after the fashion of Kalidas, Aeschylus and Shakespeare... He comes into the struggle in a manner reminiscent of his chivalrous fore-bears repelling the invaders in the eighteenth century raining blows on all sides. It is a glorious effort and Dr Singh is seen for who he is, a true scholar gentleman and a noble Knight of the order of the Honourable Khalsa, the lion hearted”.

My acquaintance with Dr Trilochan Singh was short lived, only of four years. He was invited to USA in 1990 to deliver a lecture in a seminar. He expressed his inability to attend that conference, instead he told me of the damage which had been done by Dr McLeod and Christian Missionary group distorting the Sikh philosophy. He wanted to write a book giving a befitting reply to them and to save the honour and dignity of the Sikh *Panth*. These words appealed to me and I promised to help him in every way for writing, publishing and printing of a valuable book on this subject. How much Dr Trilochan Singh

laboured, made researches in different libraries including the National Library Alipore, Calcutta, spend days and nights to complete this voluminous work and crossed other difficulties is indescribable. But, 'Alas', he could not see this book in the hands of Mr. McLeod in his life time, to touch his inner soul for having shamefully distorted the Holy scriptures of the Sikh i.e. *Adi Sri Guru Granth Sahib* deliberately and with malicious intension.

On the evening of the 15th February 1993, Dr Trilochan Singh was discussing the book with the Editor of 'The Sikh Courier' London at his resident, when he breathed his last, with pen in his hand and the final manuscript in his lap. Before his death he had gone through the proofs of the entire book, except the Appen-dixes, which were written, completed and found with orig-inal manuscript just three days before his death. The Foreword was received from Dr Noel Q. King, two days after his death. The whole Sikh community is indebted to the great scholar for his valuable contribution, as a part-ing gift, which will surely become a source book to deal with hostile critics like Dr. W. H. McLeod.

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AUTHOR'S INTRODUCTION

*O thou that buttest the high mountain, seeking to dislodge
it with thy horns, take pity, not on the mountain but on thy
head*

*Sheikh Ahmed Al-Aawi:
Al-Balagh*

There is a Buddhist legend narrated by Rumi in one of his famous stories which aptly describes the attitude of some arrogant intellectuals towards Sikhism. Sikhism is for them is an elephant, which a group of blind men touch, and each describes it according to the part of the body his hands had touched; to one the elephant “appeared like a throne, to another like a fan or like a pillar. But none was able to imagine what the whole animal was like.

From Dr Ernest Trumpp, a fanatic Christian missionary of nineteenth-century to Dr William Hewat McLeod, a leading light of Batala-Berkley Christian Missionary group of the twentieth-century critics of Sikhism, and from Swami Dayanand leader of Anti-Sikh Arya-Samaj Hindu-cult to a host of turbanned and bearded communists, atheists, agnostics, opportunists, bearing the name “Singh”, there have been a number of spiritually blind, intellectually corrupt, highly conceited writers and scholars who have described Sikhs and Sikhism in a manner, no ordinary person with even a rudimentary intellectual honesty and historical insight can ever comprehend or describe.

Sikhism offers many points of attraction, many sublime doctrines of universal interest, many moral and spiritual values for which Sikhs and their faith are admired all over the world. The aesthetic beauty, the poetry and music

which forms the backbone of Sikh Scriptures, and the mystical dimensions of the profound spiritual experiences of Sikh Prophets, recorded in their own authentic and canonized sacred works, is a vast field of study for all seekers of Truth and honest exponents of Sikh religion. Many eminent scholars, Christians. Muslims, Buddhists and Hindus have given us profound insights into this faith. Others who know the religion through those who love it and practice it have not failed to appreciate their love for religious and cultural bonds with sister faiths, their passion for freedom and liberty, their single-minded devotion to dignity of labour, and their boundless courage to suffer and die for their faith and freedom, which has inspired them to produce great saints. Scholars freedom fighters, and determined reformers.

For some Christian theologians like Professor Mark Juergenmeyer '*Sikhism is a Forgotten Tradition*' virtually ignored in the various fields of religious studies; for some the Sikhs are an uncultured backward tribe, and for still others highly biased minds it is an undefined faith with uncertain spiritual or philosophical roots. They are afraid to call it a religion or a philosophy because their intellectual perceptions blunted by ingrained prejudices fail to see the profound metaphysical and mystical thoughts, the ethical, social and philosophic doctrines of a highly developed spiritual religion. revealed on every page of their scriptures to those who care to understand it correctly. For some it is a fading Hindu sect with no identity of its own, yet some others like Dr Hew McLeod, who consider themselves the cleverest pundits in this dark sphere of academic gimmick, have in vain tried to fit a square peg in a round hole by trying to prove that Guru Nanak was a petty "*Sant*" in the long chain of '*Hindu Nirgun San Sampardaya of North India*' an impressive name without form or content. They make bland irresponsible statements about Sikh prophets and their religion, without even being able to prove anything. Sikhism is neither a "tradition" nor has it been forgotten. It is a living faith, a

universal religion, with well known and clearly defined identity and institutions, and philosophical, social and political doctrines. Let anyone open any page from the history of Punjab from the date of the birth of its Founder, Guru Nanak, to the present day written by any non-Sikh, you will find the Sikhs as Masters of the destiny of Punjab. But still a handful of Christian Missionary Scholars, most of whom were working together as teachers in Barring Christian College, Batala, and writing under the common banner, "*Christian Approach to Sikhism*" during the late sixties and early seventies, still have spared no pains to mount indecent attacks on Sikhism in recent years. Their natural Christian bias first changed to unhealthy and disturbing comments about Sikh Gurus and Sikhism. Then in a series of articles, read in their Group Seminars and books, their prejudiced comments have changed into hostile criticism and malicious vulgar assaults in the name of rational thinking and Christian academics of particular group and a particular brand.

It is about such rational critics of Buddhism, Dr D.T. Suzuki wrote in bitter words, although these learned critics had made signal contributions in Sanskrit studies. This world renowned scholar of Buddhism, Dr D.T. Suzuki writing on "*Why injustice is done to Buddhism*", in his well known work "*Outline of Mahayana Buddhism*" says, about such writers and critics of religions other than their own, "The people who have had their thoughts and sentiments habitually trained by one particular set of religious dogma, frequently misjudge the value of those thoughts that are strange and unfamiliar to them. We may call this class of people bigots or enthusiasts. They may have fine religious and moral sentiments as far as their own religious training goes; but, when examined from a broader point of view, they are to a great extent vitiated with prejudices, superstitions, and fanatical beliefs, which since childhood, have been pumped into their receptive minds, before they were sufficiently developed and could form independent judgments. This fact so miserably spoils their purity of

sentiments and obscures their transparency of intellect, that they are disqualified to perceive and appreciate whatever is good, true and beautiful in the so-called heathen religions. This is the main reason why those Christian missionaries are incapable of rightly understanding the spirit of religion generally - I mean, those missionaries who come to the East to substitute one set of superstition for another.”¹

“This strong indictment”, adds Dr D.T. Suzuki, “against the Christian missionaries, however, is by no means prompted by any partisan spirit. My desire, on the contrary, is to do justice to those thoughts and sentiments, that have been working consciously or unconsciously in the human mind from time immemorial and shall work on till the day of the last judgement, if there ever be such a day. To see what those thoughts and sentiments are, which, by the way, constitute the kernel of every religion, we must without any reluctance throw off all the preju-dices we are liable to cherish, though quite unknowingly, and keeping always in view what is most essential in the religious consciousness, we must not, confound it with its accessories, which are doomed to die in the course of time.”²

Sri Aurobindo, the world renowned scholar and sage pinpoints two types of western critics of oriental religions and cultures. Then there is the “eye of discerning and dispassionate critic who tries to see the thing as it is in its intention and actuality, apportion the light and shade, get the balance of merit and defect, success and failure, mark off that which evokes appreciative sympathy from that which calls for critical censure. We may not always agree; the standpoint is different and by its externality, by failure of intuition and self-identification it may miss things that are essential or may not get the whole meaning of that which it praises or condemns; still we profit we can add to our sense of shade and tone or correct our previous judgement.”³ There are many eminent scholars belonging to this category of “sympathetic and discerning”

writers on Sikhism who are greatly respected and frequently quoted in authentic works on Sikhism. The names of these scholars are well known to all serious students of Sikhism.

The second category is of hostile critics who are convinced of the inferiority of the culture in question, who gives plainly and honestly without deliberate overcharging what they conceive to be sound reason for their judgement. That too has its use for us; hostile criticism of this kind is good for the soul and the intellect, provided we do not allow ourselves to be afflicted, beaten down or shaken from the upholding centre of our living faith and action. "But hostile criticism to be of any sound value must be criticism, not slander and false witness, not vitriol-throwing; it must state the facts without distortion, preserve consistent standards of judgement, observe a certain effort at justice, sanity, measure."⁴ "Sanity, justice, measure are things altogether at a discount: a show-off of the appearance of staggering and irresistible blows is the object held in view, and for that anything comes in handy, - the facts are altogether misstated or clumsily caricatured, the most extraordinary and unfounded suggestions advanced with an air of obviousness, the most illogical inconsistencies permitted if an apparent point can be scored. All this is not the occasional freak of a well-informed critic suffering from a fit of mental biliousness and impelled to work it off by an extravagant intellectual exercise, an irresponsible fanatasia, or a hostile war-dance around a subject, with which he is not in sympathy."⁵ The works these learned orientalisists have produced ultimately turn out to be intellectual and academic fakes and not critical expositions or scholarly works in any sense of the Word. It is to this category, the works of Dr Ernest Trumpp and Dr W.H. McLeod belong, and it is because of this common trait of these very learned Christian missionary Scholars, their works are studied together. The author of this book has actually been working on a comprehensive volume on "*European Exponents and Critics of Sikh Religion, history and Culture*" to be published in one

big volume, but in the circumstances of the hot debate that is going on between Christian Groups led by Dr Hew McLeod's Group and Sikh scholars and intellectuals of all shades it has been considered necessary to publish my assessment of Dr Ernest Trumpp and Dr Hew McLeod's works separately. They are indeed a class by themselves and every Indian religion has had to face assaults and onslaughts sometime or the other, as will be clear from Dr D.T. Suzuki's views expressed in eight pages in his Introduction in "*Outlines of Mahayana Buddhism*" and Sri Aurobindo's views expressed in 117 pages in his Introductory Essay to "*The Foundations of Indian Culture*". During the past two decades the maliciously vulgar assaults in a series of hostile books and anthologies organized by what I call "Batala - Berkley Christain Missionary Group" has necessitated the publication of this book separately, although it forms a part of a larger volume on all European writers and scholars on Sikhism since the seventeenth century,

In the nineteenth century Dr Ernest Trumpp, a German scholar and narrow-minded Christian Missionary be-longed to what was otherwise known as 'Lawrence School of Christian liberals' who could not tolerate any such honest work on the Sikhs like that of J. D. Cunningham and was hell bent on denigrating, black-mailing and slandering this religion of the heathens, the Sikhs. A coterie of British officials and intellectuals were all praise for his work and praised him for all the derogatory remarks he had passed about Sikhs, their prophets and their scriptures. But two decades after this publication the saner element among British scholars understood the game which the Lawrence School of Secular Christians and their official tool Dr Ernest Trumpp had played in Punjab. This school of rational legislative minded Christians believed that state-patronage should be withdrawn from even the most sacred shrines like the Golden Temple, all economic support cut off so that the gilded domes of the temple would lose their lustre." This innovation was, however,

not accepted. But suppressing authentic historical works like Cunningham's "*History of the Sikhs*", 1849, and slandering campaign through Imperialistic interpretation of Sikhs and Sikhism succeeded fairly well. There were missionary groups encouraged by such persons as Herbert Edwardes who believed that the Sword and Gospel must go together, and that a "proselytizing and persecuting" government alone could save the famished bodies and the oppressed souls of the people of Punjab." The best harvesting ground for winning Christians, was found at Batala in Gurdaspur district and Moga in Ludhiana district. It is in Batala and Amritsar that they built powerful proselytizing institutions. Their first major confrontation was with Arya Samyists and then with Ahmadiya Muslim movement. The relations between Christians and Sikhs were generally cordial and even friendly. It is out of this Batala-Christian-Missionary Centre has emerged this new campaign led by Dr W. H. McLeod and his colleagues. The Centre has actively shifted to Berkley and Toronto. The campaign is against Sikhs and Sikhism and is supported by some intellectuals in a few Universities committed to new god-men Sant-cults, which have sprung like mushrooms in the morally and spiritually confused countries like U.S.A. and Canada.

In every period and in every decade of five hundred and twenty years of its turbulent history, Sikhism and Enlightened Sikhs have firmly stood up against these hostile forces and calmly said, "Attain first the level of wisdom and spirituality of Sikhism and then take your pen to criticize us. Know the facts of our history, doctrines and moral code before you distort them and spread misleading lies about them." We know that there are a considerable section of people who enjoy mischievous distortions and denigrating denigrating images of Sikhs, their prophets and their religion and culture. This section of the people, mostly Jealous and rival religious groups, and greedy sychophants and highly paid servile agents of hostile Delhi Rulers, who have changed the whole of Punjab into a vast

concentration camp, kept under police and para-military surveillance for over a decade and have spared no pains in alienating the Sikhs in their own country, insulting and humiliating them in their own Homeland, Punjab. But still there is no dearth of honest thinkers and intellectuals in the East and West who are prepared to uphold Truth, Justice and the Human Rights of the Sikhs and extend their unequivocal support to those high moral and spiritual values of Guru Nanak - Guru Gobind Singh with which the Sikhs have ultimately defeated and eliminated all dark and self-defeating hostile forces with the light and power of Truth and Will to live with honour and self-respect.

The Sikhs believe in dispelling darkness and light, eliminating the lies of manipulated distortions with factual truth, and removing the gloom of doubts, delusion and confusion created by presenting conjectural and falsely constructed images about Sikhs and various aspects of Sikhism. The music, poetry and aesthetic philosophy and mysticism, of Sikh scriptures, and their glorious history, shining with the wisdom of great apostles, saints and scholars and the sacrifices of thousands of martyrs is an open Book of their 520 years of history for those who have eyes to see and read it with unprejudiced minds.

Astute students of occidental studies and Sikhism do not fail to notice that Dr Ernest Trumpp and Dr Hew McLeod are the only two outstanding products of Protestant Christian Missionary Institutions who have consciously and deliberately given not only highly biased studies, but their maladroitness, left-handed, ungainly comments floundering from one fallacious argument to another, have perhaps achieved one thing: that those ignorant western readers who know practically nothing about Sikhism are likely to accept and believe all they have written in their hostile works released through prestigious publishers. Their super-structures of absurdities, their incorrect and misleading translations of sacred hymns, their distorted and clumsy interpretation of key-terms, and doctrines of Sikh religion, their damning criticism of original Sikh

sources has no doubt brought to them some cheap popularity for their brilliant intellectual feat in demolishing the integrity and historic image of Guru Nanak, the Founder of Sikhism and his nine equally great successors. They have attempted, each in his own way to expose to ridicule the most sacred Sikh institutions, the most precious articles of faith and worship in Sikhism paying here and there left-handed compliments to this religion. Although they have tried to inflict grave injury to Sikhs and Sikhism, their perverted studies and malicious attacks have boomeranged on them and they stand universally condemned for their biased approach and misleading conjectural statements.

Dr Trumpp was strongly criticized even by British scholars within two decades of the publication of his work. In spite of a well orchestrated support for his odd theories by his old colleagues of Batala-Berkeley groups and some protagonists of Saint cults of god-men, a strong reaction has set in against Dr Hew McLeod theories and comments on Sikhs and Sikhism. Lovers of historical truth, sincere scholars of Sikh studies in the East and West have rejected all the absurd theories of Dr Hew McLeod and his group and are taking courageous steps to present the Truth about Sikhs and Sikhism, all over the world.

These hostile critics consider their own work rational and that of authentic scholars of Sikhism irrational. Professor Frits Staal, an outstanding scholar of oriental languages and mysticism rightly says, "A common Western prejudice has it that the West is rational and the East irrational. (strictly speaking, the prejudice is that everything which is not Western is irrational). Since it is obvious that the term 'rational', whatever its precise meaning, cannot without straining it to be applied to a civilization which spends its greatest efforts on the destruction of Asian countries and their peasant populations, this rationality is conceived of as primarily exhibited by one particular creation of Western civilization, viz. science. The irrationality of the East, in contrast, is thought of as being

especially appropriate in the area of religion. This supports, and is supported by, another prejudice which is the product of a particular development within Western civilization - that religion and mysticism, are irrational. Christianity possessed from the earliest times an irrationalist tendency, which has been on the increase in recent centuries.”⁶ But Christian missionary scholars in the past two centuries have always overlooked the irrationality of their own religion, but have attacked oriental religions like Buddhism and Sikhism with all the discursive logic of hostile criticism at their disposal.

Anyone who approaches the study of Sikh religion with pre-conceptions and ingrained ideological bias, and pretends to study it with some half-baked and superficial knowledge of Punjabi language and Sikh historical source-books, but complete ignorance of the languages and dialects of Sikh Scriptures (prakrit, Apabhraṃśa, Persian, Avadhi, and various dialects of medieval Punjabi) will commit the same type blunders which Dr Ernest Trumpp and Dr Hew McLeod have highlighted in their writings, as products of their type of Western academics.

Their are obvious discrepancies and disconnections in the narratives of our historical records (*janam-sakhis*, *Gurbilases*, *Sakhi Pothis*) and no Sikh scholar from Guru-period to the present day has accepted any historical work except those of Bhai Gurdas and Guru Gobind Singh uncritically and without thorough investigation. None of the *janam-sakhis*, *Gurbilases* were canonized by the Sikh Gurus and declared authentic or sacred, and no statement in them is accepted uncritically as gospel-truth. There are, however, no inconsistencies and contradictions in the authentic works of the Sikh Gurus and Bhaktas preserved in the *Guru Granth Sahib* and other canonized scriptures like the works of Bhai Gurdas, Bhai Nand Lal and of Guru Gobind Singh. In this respect Sikhism is in a much better position than Christianity and Buddhism because we have a number of copies of *Guru Granth* autographed and dated by the successors of Guru Arjun

the text of which is universally accepted as authentic.

Throughout our history the most orthodox Sikh theologians, philosophers and mystics have never shunned their responsibility of coming to terms with truth. They welcome all deep and profound studies of Sikhism and the Sikh people have always greatly respected and honoured serious non-Sikh scholars of Sikhism. But scholars disciplined in authentic knowledge and study of Sikh scriptures and history, whether Sikh or non-Sikh have reacted strongly and bitterly against all wilful distortions and falsifications of facts and truth of Sikh history and scriptures as Dr Trumpp and Dr Hew McLeod have repeatedly done in their works.

Except during the period of rise of Christian Missionary power, and more so when Arya Samaj provoked counter-attacks by abusing and insulting Christ, Mohammed and Guru Nanak, no Sikh scholar or saint has ever criticized or belittled any prophet of any religion. Even when the political relations between Sikhs and Mughal governments were at their worst, the relations of Sikh Saints and Scholars with Sufi and spiritual-minded Muslims were extremely friendly and fraternal. Dr Ernest Trumpp's attack on Sikhism in 1868-90 and Dr Hew McLeod's assault on many aspects of Sikhism in 1968-93 came as a shock not only to Sikh scholars but Sikh intelligentsia have been provoked to form counter-attack groups against what is now known as Batala-Berkley Christian Missionary group, which has intensified its attack through Seminars organized only to promote such hostile views.

A number of articles were published in Sikh and University journals criticizing the views expressed by Dr Hew McLeod by Sikh and non-Sikh historians. Some of these articles dismantled all his theories, but Dr McLeod has never cared to answer this criticism of his untenable pre-suppositions. He has conveniently ignored them and he continues to repeat all his hostile attacks on Sikh doctrines in the same words but with renewed emphasis by

merely repeating everything he has said before, ostensibly because he, feels that the Batala-Berkley group of Christian missionaries, a few students and a few Sikh Marxists, materialists and agnostics in our Universities continue to back him in this game. These Marxists, materialists and atheists carry some prestige of the University chairs, they have been occupying under the patronage of Delhi Rulers, whose destructive attitude towards the Sikhs and their sacred Institutions is known all over the world; and this prestige becomes colourful because they are Sikhs in name, and Khalsa Sikhs in appearance, even though some of them keep on putting their beards and turbans only to become acceptable in these Universities of the Punjab which are expected to promote authentic research work in Sikh history, religion and Scriptures. What they have done and achieved is before us.

In this book Dr Trumpp's and Dr Hew McLeod's pet theories and findings have been studied in the light of factual truth based on original sources and the truth about all doctrines and historical events studied by them has been discussed in detail. Wherever the author is wrong, he stands corrected by others who are better equipped and informed and he will be grateful to them for more knowledge and light on these issues of great importance. The object of this book is to remove the dark errors and misconceptions created about Sikhs and Sikhism and to create authentic understanding and appreciations of Sikh history and doctrines. Sikh history, philosophy, mysticism, sociology and pol-ity are vast subjects and no single individual can master them all in their profound depth in one life-time. Many eminent theologians, historians and mystics have given profound insights in each field in their works in Punjabi or Braj. But none of these precious works have been trans-lated into English or any other Indian or foreign lan-guage. Even our present day University lecturers and scholars try to study Sikhism without studying these monumental original sources.

But the prejudiced analytical studies by Christian missionary scholars of the category of Dr Ernest Trumpp and Dr Hew McLeod have achieved nothing beyond creating bitterness and wilful injury. Dr Ernest Trumpp's work lies in the grave of oblivion, though it is picked up now and then by Ph.D. students to do some padding in their foot-notes. When Dr Hew McLeod's hostile attacks and exposition stand exposed in the light of historical truth and doctrinal facts, serious scholars of Sikhism, Western or Eastern, will not accept any of his prejudiced and unauthenticated analysis and criticism.

Prof. Puran Singh rightly pointed out way back in 1925 "Beware of the magic of Brahmanical philosophic analysis of everything, even the most secret and complex infinities of faith, life and love. It killed them, it shall kill you. Analysis is the opposite pole of feeling. I worship my mother, I love my wife, but what would they be if I wished to know them by analysis"⁷. Positive analysis helps all serious studies in the field of religion and philosophy; negative analysis causes considerable harm to the subject and blackens the face of the analyst.

The Sikhs are proud of the fact that at no period of their history did they lack genuine serious observers, scholars of Sikh history and religion amongst Christian, Muslims and Hindus. While many Hindu scholars from Bengal and South India have seriously and very sincerely studied Sikh religion and history and their insights surpass the assessment of many living Sikh scholars, many writers and political leaders from the Hindu belt of India working for Hindi and Hindu Imperialism over Punjab, Kash-mir and other linguistic states, have been campaigning against Sikh history, religion and culture exactly as British Imperialism did after its occupation of Punjab. This has only roused Sikhs and Sikhism to preserve their roots of Political, religious and cultural freedom with their traditional resistance and determination known to all students of Sikh history and religion. The challenges of hostile critics like Dr Ernest Trumpp and Dr Hew McLeod will

keep on coming. Scholars who understand and know Sikhism from its depths will keep on meeting these challenges and revealing the truth about this sublime and unique religion and its great prophets.

There is no such tradition or belief in Sikh religion that only ordained priests or official theologians are competent to write about Sikh scriptures and history. Nor is the interpretation given by some orthodox theologian or saint, the last word. The doors of healthy discussions and profounder investigations are open to all. No one is given the status of ecclesiastical importance attributed to Pundits and Mullas or to the pope, Cardinals and Archbishops. Those who turn against the basic doctrines of Sikhism are disowned or at the most excommunicated. But no physical harm is ever done to anyone who chooses a different path. The doors of repentance and forgiveness are also kept open. Only when some sects like Handaliyas and Niranjaniyas joined the Mughan invaders and participated in armed attack on the Sikhs, the Sikh armies attacked their strongholds with armed forces. Murder of heretics by slaying them or burning them on the stakes was common place in Christianity and Islam. The Sikh Gurus stood for complete freedom of worship for all.

The Christian scholars who wrote long chapters on pacifism of Guru Nanak and the use of Sword by Guru Hargobind and Guru Gobind Singh only to show their ignorance of both, conveniently forget that Christian scholars and rulers were extremely intolerant towards liberal thinkers in their own faiths. Even healthy and constructive criticism was considered heretical and was punished by murder or burning on the stake. I give two examples, one from Catholic and the other from Protestant Church history.

I have always considered the eminent Catholic scholar Ernest Renan's *"Life of Jesus Christ"* the best and far more authentic than any produced by a learned Christian scholar. "Ernest Renan offered to the readers a Jesus who is alive, whom he, with his artistic imagination, had met

under the blue heaven of Galilie.” He ends the story in such glowing words, scarcely heard: ‘Jesus will never have a rival. His religion will again and again renew itself. His story will call forth endless tears and his suffering will soften hearts of the best and every successive century will proclaim that among the sons of men there hath never arisen a greater than Jesus.”

The book passed through eight editions in three months. Renan was opposed by the Bishops and Christian fundamentalists for not upholding the Deity of Christ. Renan was defended by many eminent Catholic scholars and newspapers. But Catholic bigotry and fanaticism triumphed through well organized propaganda and witch-hunting. He was removed from his Professorship of Semetic Languages at the College de France. He refused to accept the post of a Librarian of the Imperial Library. He was accused of the crime of “Insulting and making ridiculous a religion recognised by the State” a crime which could be punished by five years imprisonment.⁸

Calvin an outstanding Protestant reformer is another example of a very intolerant scholar whose hate campaign put to shame even the worst hate campaigns of the Mughal emperors and *mullas*. Calvin treated Migual Servetus, a Spaniard liberal thinker, nevertheless a devout Protestant, as an arch heretic, whose only fault was that he was animated by the old spirit of “inquiry and unrest. Calvin has been described by historians as “authoritarian, opinionated and prone to become splenetic at the slightest con-tradictions. In one of his letters Calvin writes, “Servetus seizes my books and defiles them with abusive remarks as much as a dog bites a stone and gnaws it.”

Stefen Zweig has given a vivid portrayal of Servetus’ illegal imprisonment and cruel death in his book “*Erasmus : The Right to Heresy*”. He writes: “Calvin, let me repeat, was unscrupulous when his doctrine was at stake, Servetus must be liquidated and since Calvin was good hater he cared not a jot what means were employed. Nothing could have been more shameful than these

means.” Servetus was arrested and thrown into prison without any charge having been brought against him. Calvin loathed all those who tried to teach others in a different way from that which was advocated by him; such detestation being instinctive in a man of his tyrannical disposition, after he had suffered endlessly in a dungeon he was condemned to be burnt alive by Calvin and his cohorts. Servetus was asked to repudiate his teachings even when he was burning in the flames. He contemptuously rejected the offer showing his moral greatness, his willingness to fulfil his pledge, his determination to suffer the worst on behalf of his convictions.”⁹

“It was hard for Servetus to die. It was still harder for Calvin to go on living, Castello, another liberal scholar took up battle against the religious tyrant who considered himself to be Attorney of God.” He said firmly and vigorously “A State has no jurisdiction in matters of conscience will you in the last resort say that Jesus Himself taught you to burn your fellowmen. To burn a man alive does not defend a doctrine but slays men. We do not testify one faith by burning another, but only by readiness to be burned on behalf of our faith.”¹⁰

Islam and Christianity have generally made murders and burning at stake an instrument of spreading their faith and suppressing the numerically weaker religions. When Christianity learnt tolerance it was taken over by Communists and Fascists all over the West, and in Asia. Hindu rulers and monks destroyed Buddhism by burning alive Buddhist monks who lost treacherously organized debates with sharp witted Pundits and Brahmins. The Jains persuaded Jain Kings during Jain political ascendancy to mercilessly kill all the *Rishis* and their *ashramas* near Mt. Abu and other places. Hindu and Jain tolerance has been only a widely propagated myth. The religious and political persecution of the Sikhs by the ruthless present day Delhi Rulers and the barbarous methods adopted to destroy their most sacred historical temples, libraries, and State organized killing of innocent boys, children, women

and unarmed men everywhere, giving rise to an endless battle between State-terrorism and group terrorism is a recent example of Hindu tolerance and despotic persecution, which can be seen in Punjab and some other states in India.

Just as British Imperialism created a suitable atmosphere for hired scholars like Dr Ernest Trumpp to high-light their academic feat by denigrating Sikh religion and the people, the present atmosphere created by centrally controlled Universities and Institutions has created a congenial atmosphere for Dr Hew McLeod, even though it has been difficult for the ruling powers to suppress criticism altogether. Many learned scholars of the nineteenth century like Dr Monier Williams were misled by the supposed linguistic knowledge and scholarship of Dr Ernest Trumpp and accepted him uncritically for nearly two decades. Similarly many good intentioned scholars, ignorant of the original sources, misrepresented and distorted by Dr Hew McLeod or completely ignored by him, have been misled to accept Sikh hostile comments and lop-sided presentation of original sources as correct and worth serious Scholar's attention. They will realize their mistake, when during the next few decades or so, most of the authentic documents are available in English translations, and Western scholars are able to find the difference between reliable and unreliable historical documents.

An erroneous impression has been created by a group of hostile scholars, notably Dr Hew McLeod and his Group who have been spreading canards about some historical Codices of *Guru Granth* preserved by some families and Sikh and non-Sikh Institutions, and jealously guarded against mishandling and misuse. Dr Hew McLeod's comments given in his books are based on hearsay stories and scandal-mongering gossip. His very comments indicate that he has not cared to read even ten pages of these Codices.

Supposing one fine day the Archbishop of Canterbury enters the historic Canterbury Church where learned Christian scholars of the Bible, holymen and other devotees

are waiting to listen to him. Supposing the Arch-bishop keeps a cigar in his left hand. He then opens the Bible and reads some passages perfuming it with Cigar smoke and delivers a sermon. I would like to know from the most liberal Christians as to what would be the natural reaction of the learned listeners. Will they remain silent because of the Archbishop's vast learning and holy Robes or will they protest against this sacriligious style and behaviour in the Church? And yet this is exactly the manner in which Dr Ernest Trumpp proceeded with his study of *Guru Granth* in the presence of the leading scholars and saints of Amritsar, who knew much better and much more Sanskrit than him; and no Christian ever protested nor listened to Sikh protests. The reaction of the Sikhs is vividly portrayed by Max Arthur Macauliffe in the first Chapter of this book.

It was St. Jerome who said: "To ignore the Scripture is to ignore Christ. If there is anything in life which sustains a wise man and induces him to maintain his serenity amidst the tribulations and adversities of the world, it is in the first place, I consider, meditation and knowledge of the scriptures". For the Sikhs, their Scriptures are the Gurus, and the Gurus now live in Spirit in the Scriptures. When the Sikhs recite their Scriptures they pray, worship and glorify the Attributes of God, and know the Path to His Presence. When they sing the songs of Scriptures, the music, the poetry, and the divine fervour of the Word of God illumines, the dark corners of their hearts and soul. To a superficial Western observer who does not understand the language and music, it is a ritual ceremony, conducted in a heathenish manner. For the Sikhs it is individual and congregational prayer, worship, contemplation and meditation of the Divine Word in the highest and universal religious traditions.

American academics and missionaries are busy these days in propagating Christianity by many modern methods which are proving ineffective, and they are examining the Bible as a relic and not as a Sacred Book of meditations

and divine inspiration. They no doubt love the Bible but they ignore the Christ and the moral and spiritual values for which he died on the Cross. They analyse and dissect the texts just as a Botanist analyses a fragrant and beautiful flower, ignoring its colour, beauty and fragrance which really matters. They want to be scientific and modern in their approach. more modern than the modern critics of the fifties and sixties, but they cease to be Christians inspired by Truth, Wisdom and experience of Jesus Christ.

In Sikh scriptures there is no history, no biography, no narrative tales as such. There are some stray references to a few historical biographical and autobiographical events of lives of saints of the past and the Guru period. These events are mentioned just to reveal that God alone controls the destiny of nations, individuals, and He protects His saints and destroys tyrants and despots. A historical approach to the *Guru Granth*, except the study of history of compilation is virtually impossible. The events mentioned are so well known that to apply sceptical historical tools of discursive analysis are futile. All the events carry the same certainty as the historical event of Christ being put to death on the Cross.

Another canard that has been spread against the Sikhs is that the Sikhs do not permit and do not believe in textual and hermeneutical studies of the Sacred Book, *Guru Granth*. Sikh saints and scholars have been carrying on textual comparisons and studies of historical Codices for the last two centuries. The eminent Saint Baba Sham Singh, who was student of Bhai Ram Singh, son of Bhai Gurdial Singh, a Body-Guard of Guru Gobind Singh sent his scholarly devotee Bhai Manna Singh to Kartarpur and find out the differences between the Kartarpur Codex and Amritsar Codex. He found difference of about 200 words and he published his findings, a copy of which was given to by the immediate successor of Baba Sham Singh aged 90. Bhai Gian Singh, a Nihang scholar spent over forty years on similar textual study. He has recorded

his findings of some very rare Manuscripts. He left one copy of his findings with me and another with Nihang Chief in the historic Damdama Sahib Dera. He published some basic findings. I studied all the Manuscript copies lying in Takht Patna Sahib and Takht Nanded Sahib and between 1947 and 1960 I studied the oldest Codices of *Dasm Granth* prepared by Bhai Mani Singh, Baba Binod Singh, Baba Dip Singh and some unknown Copyists of the early eighteenth century. Former S.G.P.C. research scholar Randhir Singh studied a number of old Manuscripts and gave his Manuscript to punjabi Bhavan, Ludhiana. They did not print it. His son gave the Manuscript to Guru Nanak Dev University Professors, the material of which (hard labour of Randhir Singh) is being misused. When the Sikhs themselves are working so hard on the texts, how is it possible that they would not allow a serious non-Sikh scholar with competence and sincere interest to study them. There is an exact copy of Kartarpur Codex and many rare Manuscripts in British Museum I.O.L. National Museum, India, which are open for inspection and study to all competent scholars. How is that scholars like Dr Hew McLeod have not even peeped into them?

We have commentaries of *Guru Granth* by Udasi and Nirmala Saints, and also by Sindhi Scholars. Scholars may differ with each other but they are all accepted respectfully because they have been prepared with due respect, reverence and considerable knowledge. No *Imprimatur* or any formal sanction is required from any religious authority. But it is essential to observe certain principles of sanctity abided by all serious students of oriental scriptures.

The differences in the Texts of these Codices are three: (1) There is some difference in the style of recording Raga and author headings and (Proems) *Mangalacharans*. But there is no difference in their text. (2) There are some differences in orthographical signs meant for grammatical indications. These are either oversight errors of copyists or errors caused by inefficient

calligraphists. (3) there are some differences in some apocryphal material in the end, which includes dates of death of the Gurus, the art of preparing calligraphic ink and other material. These are not considered a part of the Sacred Book but are preserved as memoranda. There is no truth in the mischievous impression created by some scholars that the Sikhs do not permit the textual or hermeneutical studies of *Guru Granth* or any other Canonised scripture.

This book is a very modest attempt to tell the truth about *Sikh* history and culture which Dr Ernest Trumpp tried to distort in the nineteenth century and Dr Hew McLeod and his Group are trying to falsify and pervert in the twentieth century.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. D.T. Suzuki, *Outlines of Mahayana Buddhism*, p. 16, Dr D.T. Suzuki has strongly criticized the views of eminent Sanskrit scholar Monier -William's book "*Buddhism*" and Weddell's *Buddhism in Tibet*, and Samuel Beal's *Buddhism in China*.
2. *ibid.*, p. 17.
3. Sri Aurobindo, *The Foundations of Indian Culture*, p. 43.
4. *ibid.*, p. 44.
5. *ibid.*, p. 45.
6. Frits Staal, *Exploring Mysticism*; p. 27 Professor Frits Staal, Professor of Philosophy and South Asian Languages at the University of California at Berkley, is to my mind, far more authentic scholar of Oriental philosophy and mysticism than Zaehner. Unfortunately this great scholar has not come into contact with Sikh Scriptures its philosophy and mysticism, except through crude and unsympathetic and critical essays of Batala-Berkley Christian Missionary Group. His works come close to the works of oriental scholars of high order who have devoted a life time to these studies.
7. Puran Singh, *The Spirit Born People*, Punjabi University, Patiala, p. 7.
8. Albert Schweitzer, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, Chapter XIII on "Renan p. 180-192 (A very illuminating Account).
9. Stefan Zweig, *Erasmus : The Right to Heresy*, 291, 292.
10. *ibid.*, p. 331

“The only writer who undertook to give a full account of the Sikh religion was Dr Trumpp, a German missionary employed by the India office to translate the Adi Granth. When he visited Amritsar, the head-quarters of the Sikh religion, he, through the agency of the Civil officers, had the Sikh priests of that city summoned before him. In the course of their conference he told them he was versed in Sanskrit literature and they were not, he understood the Granth Sahib better than they. The conference ended by his pulling out his cigar case and perfuming the Granth Sahib, which lay before him on the table, with tobacco smoke. The use of tobacco not being allowed in the Sikh religion, the gyanis fled in horror at what they deemed the profanation of their volume Dr Trumpp took the Adi Granth to Munich with him, and there, aided by the German genius of industry produced what he considered a translation of it. Anyone, gifted with the powers of divination, may be able to understand portions of it, and the manner in which he allowed his odium theologicum to assert itself may be found in memorials to the Viceroy.”

*Macauliffe : Two Lectures Delivered in
London, Presided over by Sir C.M. Rivas
and Lord Kitchener.*

CHAPTER I

ATTITUDE OF BRITISH RAJ TOWARDS AUTHENTIC
HISTORIANS OF SIKHISM AND PATRONAGE OF
CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY CRITICS

The professed object of British Raj was not to invade the territories of Sikh states in Cis-Satlej, but as soon as Bhai Uday Singh ruler of Kainthal Sikh state, founded by his grandfather in 1767 A.D., near Kurukshetra, died on 15 March, 1843,¹ the British army assisted by Purbia regi-ments of U.P. and Delhi occupied the State, arrested all Sikhs and looted and plundered the people with the sav-age lust of the conquerers. In the invading army incidently was a young brilliant scholar, Capt Joseph Davy Cunningham² who was greatly impressed by the character and religious traditions of the Sikhs and was eagerly contemplating to write about them.

Within the city there lived the greatest poet and his- torians of the century, Kavi Santokh Singh, who had just completed his monumental work, *Suraj Prakash (Gur-Pratap Suraj)*. The name of this saintly poet historian had already become a legend. When the British army invaded Kainthal, he was working on the last chapter of his history which was to become indispensable to all future historians of *Guru-Period* of Sikh history³. In the closing chapters of his *magnum-opus*, he writes: "The Farengis (British invaders) imprisoned all Sikhs and looted and plundered peoples' property indiscriminately. The *deras* of saints and scholars were also not spared. During these days of ravaging terror and persecution the true Lord protected me to such an extent that not the slightest harm came to my person. During these horrifying days, every kith and kin,

every close and distant friend had become your enemy. Violence, selfishness and greed shamelessly had sway. Even during these terrible times the Lord graciously protected me.’³⁴

Kavi Santokh Singh moved to a safer place and completed *Suraj Prakash* during the next two months and with the help of some good copyists prepared two copies of the work, which when printed in the early thirties of this century ran into fourteen large-size volumes. It was in the holy city of Amritsar, he had his education, and literary as well as religious training under Giani Sant Singh, *Head Grantht* of Golden Temple. His great teacher died in 1834 A.D., but he now decided to go on his last pilgrimage to the holy city and offer his precious work at the feet of the Eternal Guru at *Akal Takht*.

The memories of his associations with the holy city were overwhelming for him. He marvelled at the great-ness, integrity and dignity of his teacher Giani Sant Singh, who was entrusted with all the gold that has been used for ornamental beauty of the Temple. And yet after he had completed his education and training, the great teacher had advised him to keep away from Lahore *darbar*, where the atmosphere of medieval aristocratic luxuries and de-baucheries was not congenial for his creative activities. Giani Sant Singh also took strong objection to his son Bhai Gurmukh Singh’s visits to Ranjit Singh’s *darbar* and expressed his extreme displeasure over his ambition in getting involved in the dirty politics of Lahore *darbar*.⁵

Gurmukh Singh disobeyed his father, while Kavi Santokh Singh obeyed his mentor and teacher and moved to the court of Maharaja Karam Singh of Patiala. He felt even more unhappy there because mischievous Brahminical Pundits dominated his court and were causing every possible hinderance in allowing him to win the Sikh Maharaja’s attention, goodwill and patronage for fear of being ousted by him as creative poet and scholar. He however, attracted the attention of Bhai Uday Singh, Raja of Kainthal and his scholarly young wife Suraj Kaur, who

had come on a visit to Patiala. The Raja and Rani took Kavi Saptokh Singh with them, and thereafter this small Sikh state became a haven of peace, prosperity and free creative activities, undisturbed and untrammelled by any demand whatsoever from the Raja and his *durbiir*.⁶

It was in the last week of August 1843 Kavi Santokh Singh reached Amritsar. Maharaja Sher Singh was on the throne of Lahore and Bhai Gurmukh Singh achieved the maximum of power and patronage he could achieve, heed-less of the repeated warning of his father, that his narrow ambitions will someday land him in the pit of sorrow.

The *Pujaris* of the Golden Temple, and the city dignitaries came to receive Kavi Santokh Singh in the out-skirts of the city. A *palaki* (palanquin) was brought to carry him to the holy shrine. But the saintly poet-historian refused to be carried in a *palaki* in the holy city. Along with his wife and children the saintly poet, frail in body and very tender at heart, walked humbly through the crowd, greeting the people who showered flowers on him from all sides. For the first time the Sikh people of this century of intellectual and moral degradation showed greater respect and affection for a Poet and scholar than they had shown for their Rajas and Maharaja.

Two eye-witness accounts describe him as having middle height, slender body, wearing a shirt, turban and *kachh* as his dress. He offered his prayers at the Golden Temple with profound devotion, and then offered a copy of *Sitraj Prakash* at the *Akal Takht* which was received by Bhai Gurmukh Singh, who is believed to have kept it in his father's library.⁷

A few days after Kavi Santokh Singh left Amritsar, a fierce storm raged over the city. One of the *nishan sahibs* (National Sikh Flag) fixed in the precincts of *Akal Takht* broke to pieces. This was taken as a bad omen and portended dark days ahead. But the warning went unheeded.

A week later, on September 15 the Sandhawalias treacherously murdered not only Sher Singh but also his son Partab Singh and then occupied Lahore fort. Later

on, that very day, they even managed to outwit the arch-traitor Dhyani Singh, the Dogra Chief to the fort, where they assassinated him. Had they disposed off Hira Singh and Suchet Singh, the Dogras hegemony and treacherous power in the Sikh kingdom would have ended once for all. Bhai Gurmukh Singh and Misser Beli Ram were imprisoned. They were also brutally murdered.⁸ Gurmukh Singh's library where the copy of *Suraj Prakash* was kept, was looted and plundered. Recently, under Rajiv Gandhi's rule the historic residence of Giani Sant Singh and Bhai Gurmukh Singh was razed to the ground to keep the Golden Temple under the shadow of guns and tanks as long as they can wield power under the pretext of beautifying the holy shrine. The ugliness and injury thus caused is visible to the naked eye.⁹

Towards the end of September Kavi Santokh Singh returned to Kainthal where there was some semblance of peace and order created by the occupation army. Some time in October 1843 the great poet and historian passed away, having achieved what no single historian had achieved so far. The depressing situation hurt him deeply. Having deep faith in the fact that God and the Eternal Guru will ultimately bless his work, he breathed his last seeking rest and peace at the feet of the Lord, little knowing that his work will be placed side by side with *Guru Granth* and will become one of the most important and abiding sources of Sikh history and his presentation of history will become one of the most respected historical and religious traditions.

In February 1846, the British army entered Lahore led by a 25 year old scholarly civil servant Robert Needham Cust who has left so vivid a portrayal of the event which a film camera alone could present. He was present at the battles of Mudki, Ferozepore, and had buried Major George Broadfoot. He was also present at the battle of Sabraon. Now he was Assistant Political Agent to the Governor-General, who had camped outside Lahore. He was also accompanied, as he notes in his diary, by Joseph Davy

Cunningham, "At length I reached the outskirts of the place, and passing through the crowds of scowling soldiery, looking daggers at the Feringi. I came immediately under the walls of the citadel of Lahore." He admits that total annexation was the ultimate goal, but now "the British conquerors had to take the middle course and destroy the army."¹⁰

Robert Needham Cust claimed to be the first European to doff his hat to Maharaja Dalip Singh. On his second visit to him on 7th March 1846 he was accompanied by J.D. Cunningham and Col. Irvine.¹¹ Lawrence was his model and master and he was proud to be called a Punjabi belonging to Lawrence school of thought. It was his duty to bring Gulab Singh the arch-traitor to the camp of the Governor-General for talks. The cringing manner, the sly methods of evading orders, calculated duplicity and deliberate vacillation of Gulab Singh annoyed Needham Cust. He threatened to go without him when Raja Gulab Singh virtually refused to accompany him. When he agreed, he took Diwan Dina Nath into his howdah lest he gives a slip. Lord Hardinge also found him to be extremely roguish. Writing to Lady Hardinge on 2 March 1846 from Lahore, Lord Hardinge states: "If I had been a bachelor and not humanised by a wife and children, I am sure, I should have been very ambitious, but my opportunity occurring late in life, I am rather discreet and moderate and somewhat a philosopher, I rather like diplomacy when regulated by integrity. I am in every step anxious that the mode of accomplishing my object be above all suspicion. *The man whom I have to deal with - Gulab Singh, is the greatest rascal in Asia. We can protect him without inconvenience and give him a slice of the Sikh territory which balances his strength and as he is geographically our ally I must forget he is a rascal and treat him with what he does.*"¹²

This 'unprincipled liar' and 'self-seeking opportunist' and the *most ruthless tyrant* who inflicted the most sadistic punishment on simple-minded helpless Kashmiris, betrayed the Khalsa government of Lahore at every step and this

crafty strategist bought Kashmir for seventy-five thousand rupees, thus paying about seven *naya paisa* for every Kashmiri, and setting up a dynasty of “Tyrants of Jammu and Kashmir.”¹³

Robert Needham Cust was first in Punjab from 1846 to 1849 and then from 1858-1864. Henry Rawlenson believed “Robert Cust was not a success in India because he was “too honest and too outspoken to make a successful govt. servant.” Montgomery his strongest supporter, wrote in a letter some years later, “You have essentially a-legisla-tive turn of mind, and have ability and knowledge....no other public officer possesses. You are essentially a Punjabi brought up in John Lawrence’s school and know what we require, while at the same time, you are alive to the progress Government should make as we become more ripe and advanced.”¹⁴

As an activist of John Lawrence school he was against the prevailing policy in which “one half of the Europeans in India wished to destroy the natives by sweeping punishment, and the other half wish to save their sinful souls by missions.” He strongly criticized the fanatic spirit about conversion and education; “We are a clique in the Punjab, rather too much, I think, though I am a part of it.” This clique was convinced of the shallowness of this heathen-ish religion, Sikhism. He was of the opinion that Sikh institutions should be pushed towards decay and ultimate death. In his *Sikhland* article he wrote in 1847, “Leave the Golden Temple to itself, and withdraw from it the patron- age of the state, resume the lands set aside for the sup-port of the various brotherhoods, and the splendour of the institution will pass away. The gilded dome will lose its lustre, the marble walls will fall out of repair, the great Golden Temple will no longer be a snare for the vulgar, who are ever deceived by outward show. To act thus would be to act impartially, and in accordance with the true principles of non-interference.”¹⁵ It is in this way the non- missionary Lawrence clique wished to strike a blow “deliberately” and in “cold blood” at “what he thought was a decaying Sikhism in 1847.

Kavi Santokh Singh died in 1843. J.D. Cunningham started collecting material and planning the writing of his *History of Sikhs* in 1844, as he tells us in his preface to the first edition. In 1849, his honestly and conscientiously written well-researched and quite authentic book about Sikhs and Sikhism was published in London. It was en-titled “*A History of the Sikhs: From the Origin of the Nation to the Battles of the Satlej*” by Joseph Davy Cunningham, published by John Murray, London. Mr. Kaye, the Editor of *Calcutta Review* write a 35 page review on the book praising Cunningham’s labours and revealing the British attitude towards not only the book but also towards Sikhs and Sikhism which according to the policy of the conquerors had to be denigrated in the eyes of the world.

He says “We cannot speak of it with unmixed condemnation, and still less can we bring ourselves to pronounce a condemning sentence. It is a work that keeps the judgement of the critic in a constant state of oscillation. He (Cunningham) is a laborious, painstaking writer; and though very prejudiced and often wrong, manifestly conscientious. There is an air of candour and veracity about all he says. We honour Captain Cunningham’s sincerity and plain-speaking whilst we deplore his occasional misdirection. He has been led astray by an overwhelming anxiety to do justice to our enemies. But while he has done them more than justice, he has done the English less than Justice. He is the apologist of the Khalsa; he has written the history of the Sikhs, for most part as a Sikh historian would write it. To Captain Cunningham’s indefatigable industry we bear willing testimony. He has consulted every published authority and many others unpublished.”¹⁶

Cunningham had lived with the Sikh people for eight years. He was present at the meeting between Ranjit Singh and Lord Auckland and was not only eye witness to most of the events, but had access to many official secret des-patches. The Editor of *Calcutta Review* finds fault with

his literary style and calls it “a style, that either halts upon crutches or strides upon stilts - wants ease and fluency - moves on laboriously with nothing spontaneous about it -nothing animated. It is artificial and constrained.”¹⁷

Calcutta Review high-lights four features of the his-torical contents of Cunningham’s book, which offended the British Imperialistic policy of liquidating Sikhs and Sikhism, and quotes profusely from Cunningham’s books before he comments on his confirmed views.

1. GURU NANAK’S PHILOSOPHIC SYSTEM

The following passage of Cunningham is brought into focus: “It would be idle to suppose that he (Guru Nanak) speculated upon Being, or upon the material world, after the manner of Plato or Vyasa, and it would be unreason-able to condemn him, because he proposed the doctrine of a succession of habiliments, and the possible purifica-tion of the most sinful soul, to the resurrection of the same body and the pains of eternal fire. Nanak also re-ferred to the Arabian prophet and to the Hindu incarna-tions, not as impostors and the diffusers of evil, but as having truly been sent by God to instruct mankind, and he lamented that sin should nevertheless prevail. He rendered his mission applicable to all times and all places.”¹⁸

Commenting on this the Editor of *Calcutta Review* writes: “Captain Cunningham goes most unnecessarily out of the way to introduce a flippant and offensive comparison (with Christianity). His caprice of writing as a Sikh, is here carried beyond the bonds of decency and good sense. It remains to be proved that Nanak ever heard of the Christian doctrine, which it has pleased Captain Cunningham to caricature; and if he had, it would be in the highest degree reasonable to condemn him or anyone, who could prefer the senseless and licentious doctrine of transmigration. But Capt Cunningham’s account of the system of Nanak seems merely drawn up *ad Captandum*; it is unworthy of serious criticism and unworthy of his own high character and remarkable abilities. In

questionable hero-worship it is not given to every man to bend the bow *of* Carlyle. The same remark will apply to his vague and bombastic account *of* the influence *of* Govind.”¹⁹

2. GURU GOBIND SINGH : APOSTLE OF SOCIAL FREEDOM AND NATIONAL ASCENDANCY

The second feature that hurt British Imperialistic was designs *of* denigrating Guru Gobind Singh, the creator *of* Khalsa Holy Order. The Editor *of Calcutta Review* quotes what he considers the most offensive passage that upsets Imperialistic political and cultural strategy. Cunningham says, “The last Apostle *of* the Sikhs (Guru Gobind Singh) did not live to see his own ends accomplished, but he effectively roused the dormant energies *of* a vanquished people, and filled them with a lofty although fitful longing for social freedom and national ascendancy, the proper adjuncts *of* that purity *of* worship which had been preached by Nanak. Govind saw what was yet vital, and he relumed it with Promethean fire. A living spirit possessed the whole people, and the impress *of* Govind has not only elevated and altered the constitution *of* their minds, but has operated materially, and given amplitude to their physical frames; the features and external forms *of* a whole people have been modified; and a Sikh chief is not more distinguishable by his stately person and free and manly bearing, than a minister *of* his faith is by a lofty thoughtful-ness *of* look, which marks the fervour *of* his soul, and his persuasion *of* the near presence *of* the Divinity. Govind did not fetter his disciples with political systems or codes *of* municipal laws; yet in religious faith and worldly aspirations, they are wholly different from the Indians; and they are bound together by a community *of* inward sentiments and outward object unknown elsewhere.”²⁰

This is what the British Imperialists could not digest. Such authentic writings by Sikhs and non-Sikhs still continue to upset the digestion of the Delhi Rulers of Independent India, who wish to uphold their power and so called political integrity by subjecting the Sikhs to un-

precedented suspicion, persecution and subsequent enslavement.

3. SIKH WARRIORS AS COMPARED TO RAJPUTS, MARATHAS, PATHANS AND GORKHAS

Cunningham paid a glowing tribute to the Sikhs as disciplined soldiers. He says, "The Sikh owes his excellence as a soldier to his own hardihood of character, to the spirit of adaptation which distinguishes every new people, and to that feeling of a common interest and destiny implanted in him, by his great teachers. The Rajputs and Pathans are valiant and high-minded warriors, but their pride and their courage are personal only, and

concern them, as men of ancient family and lineage; they will do nothing unworthy of their birth, but they are indifferent to the political advancement of their race. The efforts of Marathas in emancipating themselves from a foreign yoke, were neither graded nor strengthened by any of distinct hope or desire. They became free but did not know how to remain independent; and they allowed a crafty Brahmin to turn their aimless aspirations to his own profit, and found a dynasty of Peshwas on the achievements of unlettered Shudras. Similar remarks apply to the Gorkhas and other Indian peoples... The Sikh looks before him only; the ductility of his youthful intellect readily receives the most useful impression or takes the most advantageous forms; and religious faith is ever-present to sustain him under any adversity, and to assure him of an ultimate triumph."²¹

Cunningham had access to many important despatches and documents on the basis of which he brings out the sycophancy, duplicity and betrayal of trust of his government. This hurt every British administrator from Governor-General Hardinge and Dalhousie to junior officers.

The learned Editor of *Calcutta Review* aptly sums up the reaction saying. "Captain Cunningham is the apologist of the Sikhs. His heart seems to be with them., He is almost one of the Khalsa Gospel. He sees things as they

are seen at Lahore, and not as they are seen on our side of the Sutlej or, as they would be seen on a summit of infallibility, above the mists of local influences. He justifies, or seems to justify, the Sikh invasion of 1845-46 on the score of provocation given. This is a new reading of recent Indian history, which coming from a British officer, from a man of unquestionable ability - a clever member of a clever family.”²²

The climax of Cunningham’s sincere appreciation of the character and psyche of the Sikh soldiers is revealed in his comments on the dignified demeanour of the Sikh army men when they were ordered to surrender and were disbanded. He writes: “The soldiers showed neither the despondency of mutinous rebels, nor the effrontery and indifference of mercenaries, and their manly deportment added lustre to that valour, which the victors had dearly felt and generously extolled. The men talked of their defeat as the chance of war, or they would say that they were mere imitators of unapproachable Masters. But amid all their humiliation, they inwardly dwelt upon their future destiny with unabated confidence, and, while gaily calling themselves inapt and youthful scholars, they would sometimes add, with a significant and sardonic smile, that the “Khalsa” itself was yet a child, and that as the Commonwealth of Sikhs grew in stature, Govind would clothe his disciples with irresistible might and guide them with unequalled skill. Thus brave men sought consolation; and the spirit of progress, which collectively animated them, yielded with a murmur to the superior genius of England and ‘civilization, to be chastened by the rough hand of power, and perhaps to be moulded to the noblest purposes by the informing touch of knowledge and philosophy.”²³

This passage is also quoted by Editor of *Calcutta Review* as views offending the Imperial policy of the new British Rulers. Any authentic history, any honest opinion, any genuine appreciation of the Sikhs, their religion and national character was intolerable to the British Rulers.

This young and remarkable English historian became a helpless victim of the ruthlessness of his own government which he had served with such devotion, sincerity, loyalty and distinction.

When a storm was raised against him in official circles, Cunningham was prepared to change some sentences relating to Anglo-Sikh wars on the basis of factual position, but he refused to change a single word of his sincere and authenticated work on Sikhism and character of the Sikhs. Lord Dalhousie wrote to Hobhouse on 6 September 1849, "Captain Cunningham, as you are already aware has been dismissed, very justly for his stupidity (without anything else) deserve it; and it is all the more provoking because he is an able and useful officer. It was easy to foresee that his dismissal would be misrepresented. I did all I could to prevent this result, by inserting the reason of his dismissal (though it is unusual to do so) in the Gazette; distinctly declaring that he was removed for making unauthorized use of official documents entrusted to his charge. The Press of course have all said, "at all events this is clear. Normally Captain Cunningham is dismissed for using official papers without leave in his book - because his book says disagreeable things of the Government." Further they have said, "all Captain Cunningham has said, we know, is based on authentic public papers, therefore, it must be true;" thus they derive authority for his opinions and aspersions, so well as for his proved facts."²⁴ On 22 September 1849 Lord Dalhousie wrote: "Captain Cunningham has asked me to support a memorial for restriction. I have sent the Memorial and refused support, but have thought it just to add that his conduct of political affairs in Bhopal is laudable."²⁵

John Lawrence wished to write an angry comment on the book but Lord Dalhousie cautioned him against challenging such a powerful scholar whose work was well researched.

This dismissal of a sensitive and conscientious genius came as a great blow to him. He prepared a slightly revised

edition and sent it to his brother Peter Cunningham; a writer and scholar by his own right, whose work on English poetry I read in College. In the preface to this second Edition Peter Cunningham writes:

“The sheets of this Edition were seen and corrected by their Author, (J.D. Cunningham) were ready for publication several months previous to his death, in February,

1851. The reasons - of a painful, though temporary character - for the delay in the appearance of the work will be found in a Memoir already written and to be published hereafter, when regard for the living will no longer interfere with the truth of History.”

“The author fell a victim to the truth related in this book. He wrote History in advance of his time, and suffered for it; but posterity will, I feel assured, do justice to his memory.”

“My brother’s anxiety to be correct was evinced in the unceasing labour he took to obtain the most minute information. Wherever he has been proved to be wrong, -and this has been in very few instances, - he has, with ready frankness, admitted and corrected his error. In matters of opinion he made no change - not from obstinacy, but from a firm conviction that he was right.” “The new notes to this Edition are distinguished by square brackets; some contain information of the moment, contributed by Lord Gough, Sir Charles Napier, and others, and all received my brother’s sanction. In matters of private life, some tenderness may be shown to individual sensitiveness, but history, to be of any value, should be written by one superior to the influences of private or personal feelings. What Gibbon calls “truth, naked, unblushing truth, the first virtue of more serious history,” should alone direct the pen of the historian, ‘and truth alone influenced the mind and guided the pen of the Author of this book. “26

After the Mutiny of 1857, there was some change in British attitude towards the Sikhs, though the missionaries became revengeful for some time as Christian mission

centres in Ludhiana, Lahore and many other places were burnt and razed to the ground. Christian missionary theories like Christ taking over everyone's sins as soon as he became Christian, did not appeal either to Hindus or Muslims. The upper class Hindus said that they could sin as much as they liked and could get rid of them by one dip in the holy Ganga. The Muslims believed that as soon as they prostrated before Holy Mecca their sins disappeared. Some low-caste sweepers and cobblers accepted Christianity, which the Brahmins did not mind, but they appealed to the government not to raise their social status lest no one is left to do dirty jobs.²⁷

Policies based on the self-righteous attitude of Robert Curzon were reversed. After Guru Gobind Singh, the Golden Temple was under the Collective Religious leadership of the Sikh Panth in which even militant leaders of the *Misals* never dared to interfere. They had their religious representatives but they could not impose their will or dictate any wish or proposal with their military strength or the gun. Ranjit Singh abolished this system to the misfortune of the Sikh Panth and his personal representatives controlled the Golden Temple and even some priests and functionaries. This encouraged the British Government to continue government control through Acts and Laws, and this has given a chance to the ruthless and anti-Sikh Delhi Rulers like Mrs Indira Gandhi and her multi-coloured successors to keep the Mecca of the Sikhs under the control of para-military and police force to this day and even deny to the Sikhs free participation in prayer and traditional worship. Administration was restructured by the British but the basic traditional worship and functions were preserved. But in free India even these have been destroyed with the help of surrogate political leaders alleged to be elected nearly two decades ago.²⁸

Confident assumption of moral superiority and intolerance and bigotry of the Christian missionaries provoked the Sikhs and Muslims to initiate reform movements. The British authorities were, however, attracted by two factors:

Sikh, Muslim and Hindu Jats as soldiers and the *Guru Granth* as source of inspiration for the Sikhs.

The British were curious to know what was there in this Holy Book which inspired the Sikhs with such cul-tural and moral qualities. An English translation was con-sidered lessential. Strangely enough, it was Robert Cust who suggested the name of Dr Ernest Trumpp, who as Christian Missionary was not likely to be influenced to the extent, that he might, like Cunningham possibly became a devout Sikh. Cust considered Dr Trumpp qualified for it because he was a Sanskrit Scholar and he had prepared a commendable Grammar of Sindhi and Pashto.

Dr Ernest Trumpp, born in the year 1828 at Wurtemberg, was the son of a carpenter. He was consid-ered to be a simple devout man with considerable knowledge of Sanskrit, Prakrit and classical literature. As a boy he exhibited good talents and a desire for knowledge, which led to the church becoming his profession. He pro-ceeded to Tubinger University, and there studied oriental languages. Circumstances led to his becoming a Mission-ary of the “Church Missionary Society”, and was sent to India in 1848. He was stationed at Karachi. Ill-health com-pelled him to return to Gennany in 1858. On his return to India, he was sent to the Mghan frontier to study Pashto language, which he mastered:

Dr Trumpp compiled Grammars of Sindhi and Pashto and also prepared Grammatical Note of Kafari, and Dardui and settled upon the texts sent to him by Robert Needham Cust, the position of Brahmi language.

In 1879 the Govt. of British India at the suggesion of Robert Cust, Commissioner of Amritsar requested him to again come to India and translate the Sacred Book of the Sikhs, the *Adi Granth*. He went about this work exactly as he should not have done. Although his knowledge of Sanskrit and Prakrit was commendable, he was quite ignorant of Panjabi language and its dialects used by Sheikh Farid and the Sikh Gurus. He was equally ignorant about the various dialects of Hindi used by medieval Bhaktas. It

would have been easy for him to know and appreciate these languages if he had studied Hem Chandra's Apabhramsa Grammar, which opens the linguistic portals of Shiekh Farid's and Guru Nanak's Punjabi but his intellectual arrogance prevented him from believing that there was any civilized language and literature deserving his attention beyond what he had already mastered in his Sanskrit studies.

Obsessed by his Christian missionary bias and ex-treme imagined inferiority *of* the religion he was study-ing, and fully aware that the Imperialistic Government which had employed him did not wish to study or use authentic works of sympathetic historians like J.D. Cunningham, he was with great difficulty able to prepare a crude translation of hardly one-fourth of the *Guru Granth*. He completed the translation in 1877. In 1884 he became totally blind. In 1885 he died at the age of fifty-seven.²⁹ For about ten years the scholars committed to Imperialistic policies went on praising Dr Trumpp for proving that the languages used in *Guru Granth* were vul-gar and the Holy Book was shallow compared to the Chris-tian Bible, but then a strong reaction set against him and the work was rejected by Sikhs of all shades and serious European scholars of Sikh religion, history and culture. Even now there are genuine and serious European scholars who are studying and writing on Sikh ism within the limits of their understanding of original sources, which still remain untranslated by and large, but there is also no dearth of agnostic, materialistic and communal writers or of small missionary groups who still keep on distorting and misrepresenting Sikh history and religion, which will also meet the same fate as the work of Dr Ernest Trumpp has met.

In the history *of* every religion we come across scholars who study a religion, which is not their own with such profound reverence and insight that their work receives not only admiration but the votaries *of* the religion are tempted to say "even our scholars have not produced such

remarkable work'. Such a scholar was Cunningham. On the other hand there are hostile scholars who devote all their talent and skill to condemn the religion they study, not concealing the sinister motives behind this attitude. Such a scholar was Dr Ernest Trumpp.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. Bhai Desu Singh and Bhai Sukha Singh descendants of the eminent saint, Bllai Bhagtu, disciple of Guru Arjan wrested the whole region near Kurukshetra in 1767 A.D. and created a small Sikh state. Bhai Uday Singh was the grandson of Desu Singh and succeeded to the fief of the state. He was a patron of letters and built ashrams and religious shrines for yogis and saints of other religions. As they were descendents of great saints they did not allow themselves to be addressed as "Raja". They were addressed as "Bhai" Revered Brother.
2. Joseph Davy Cunningham was a brilliant administrator, a deep scholar and conscientious writer. His sympathy for the brave and simple-minded Sikhs was noticed by the Governor-General very early. Besides his *History of the Sikhs* (1849), his "*Notes on Moorcroft's Travels in Ladakh*, and on *Gerard's Account of Kunawar* (J.A.S.B., V, 13 pt 10) a brilliant account of 80 pages, and *Notes on the Antiquities of Bhopal* (J.A.S.B. August 1847) 740-62 P are essays which a genius with a deep knowledge and passion for history and archeology alone could write.
3. Born in a family of rural tailors, Kavi Santokh Singh was fortunate to get education and inspiration from his father Bhai Deva Singh who studied Sanskrit and Sikh Scriptures under the eminent Nirmala saint, Bhai Karam Singh. He came for further studies to Amritsar under Giani Sant Singh, a reputed scholar and the High Priest (Head Granthi) of the Golden Temple. Giani Sant Singh accepted Santokh Singh as his student. Kavi Santokh Singh translated the Sanskrit Dictionary '*Amar Kosh*', wrote a *Tikka* (commentary) on Japji, and also prepared a Braj verse translation of *Valmiki's Ramayana* before he started writing *Suraj Prakash* early in the year 1835 A.D. and completed it in May 1843 A.D., barely five and half months before his death.
4. Kavi Santokh Singh, *Suraj Prakash*, Ras 2, Ansu 36.
5. Giani Sant Singh was son of a theologian named Bhai Surat Singh. He was a deeply religious saint, who by virtue of his dignified position and well established traditions, refused to attend the court of Maharaja Ranjit Singh : Tradition forbade even the High Priest's sons to attend the durbar of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, a Sikh Maharaja. When his politically ambitious son, started getting involved in the durbar activities the saints and seers of Amritsar

politely protested. Even the great saint Baba Sahib Singh Bedi raised objection. Giani Sant Singh tried his utmost to dissuade him because his visits to the durbar reflected on his dignity and position. But he refused to listen to him. At last Giani Sant Singh explained his position and humbly said that his son will ultimately come to grief. His disobedience to his saintly father is considered one of the reasons of his ignominious death in 1834 A.D. Maharaja Ranjit Singh entrusted Giani Sant Singh with all the gold that was used on the Golden Temple. The fact is recorded on the entrance door of the Sacred Shrine. Giani Sant Singh died in the year 1832 A.D., seven years before the death of Ranjit Singh.

6. Bhai Uday Singh was respected as a religious divine by Patiala and other Sikh Princes. He was generally invited to perform religious ceremonies. It was during one such visit Uday Singh and his Rani Suraj Kaur were greatly impressed and when Maharaja Karam Singh asked "What could he offer to the great descendant of Bhai Bhagtu? he got the reply "Give us Kavi Santokh Singh." The Brahmin Pundits who dominated Maharaja Patiala to such an extent that the poet was reduced to penury and pushed to the extreme by borrowing petty sums for mere survival. He writes "I have lost all strength to fight misery and sorrow. My self-respect and honour has been destroyed by my detractors. My normal life and religious devotional and discipline has been shaken from the roots. In this sorrow and suffering of poverty I have had to abandon shame to spread my hands before the rich. Members of my family are angry with me. All friends, kith and kin have turned their back on me. My wife taunts me. Hearing her remarks my head hangs in shame. Friends turn away their eyes. They even do not talk politely. I have to go for help to those whose faces I would not like to see. At my door stand creditors who abuse and insult me. Without being able to earn my living, I daily face abuse, insult and humiliation (*bin rozgar raz gar khaiyat hai*). The necessity of earning a living even makes me roll in the dust at the door of the Rajas. I have to touch the feet of the morally degraded and mean people (placed in high position). There is no greater slavery than lowering oneself for the sake of needs. This poverty created by hunger and need is all consuming flame of sorrow." Quoted by Bhai Vir Singh in *Prastavana, Sri Gur Pratap Suraj Granthavali*, p. 87.

The malicious stand the Brahmin Pundits of Maharaja Karam Singh took was: "How can a man born in low caste family of a tailor become a poet and scholar of Sanskrit. All these Pundits felt humbled and self-defeated when Bhai Uday Singh gave him the highest respect and opportunity to write freely. Bhai Uday

- Singh never interfered in his work and never asked him to write even a single verse in praise of his patron.
7. Bhai Vir Singh, *Priesthood, Sri Gur Pratap Suraj Granthavali*, p. 143--144.
 8. Thus ended the rapacious, scheming and cold blooded life and activities of this Dogra chief Dhyani Singh brother of Gulab Singh. He was as cruel and treacherous as he was physically good looking. He was the man who introduced murder politics into Lahore durbar to capture the Lahore kingdom or at least its treasures. Fate boomeranged on him within four years. His own son Hira Singh was killed as mercilessly as he organized the murder of his arch-enemy and critic Kanwar Naunihal Singh. The Sikh Prince was murdered when he was nineteen. His own son was brutally murdered when he was of the same age. Had Hira Singh been disposed off on the day Dhyani Singh was killed, the Sikh kingdom might have been saved from Dogra treachery.
 9. The assassination of Bhai Gurmukh Singh and the loot and plunder of his library is a historically well-known event of this turbulent period. Recently, Mr Siddhartha Shankar Ray, Rajiv Gandhi's governor, and henchman in Punjab, paid about forty-five thousand rupees for this historic residence of Giani Sant Singh, to his descendants, an amount which is insufficient even to buy land on which it was built. The building was razed to the ground, with the assurance that the surroundings of Golden Temple would be beautified. The buildings around the Golden Temple were forcibly acquired and destroyed to keep the holiest of the holy shrine under the shadow of the guns. The area now looks like a recently bombed region during war. Thus Mr Rajiv Gandhi and Mr. Siddhartha Shanker Ray have added insult to injury caused by Blue-Star ravages.
 10. Robert Needham Cust, *A Chapter in the History of the Conquest of the Panjab*; Calcutta Review, Vol. 107, 1898, p. 266-67.
 11. *ibid.*, p. 278.
 12. Bikrama Jit Hasrat, *Panjab Papers*, 1836-1849, p. 104
 13. The author has photo-copy of this document.
 14. Peter Penner, *Robert Needham Cust, A Personal Biography*, The Edwin Mellen Press New York, p. 207, 235.
 15. *ibid.*, p. 214, 223.
 16. *Calcutta Review*, Vol. V, 12; 1849, p. 523-4.
 17. *ibid.*, p. 526.
 18. *ibid.*, p. 527-28.
 19. *ibid.*, footnote on p 527-28.
 20. *ibid.*, p. 529.
 21. *ibid.*, p. 530.
 22. *ibid.*, p. 541.

23. *ibid.*, p. 555.
24. Bikramajit Hasrat, *Punjab Papers*, Dalhousie to Hobson, 6 September 1849, Broughton (BM) op cit. p. 244.
25. *ibid.*, p. 245.
26. Peter Cunningham : Preface to Second Edition of *History of the Sikhs: From the Origin of the Nation to the-Battles of the Sutlej* : Second Edition, with the Author's Last Corrections and Additions: John Murray, London, 1953. All subsequent editions of this century have suffered alterations; and passages were removed from subsequent editions which the editors of later distorted editions claim to have improved.
27. For a close study of self-confident aggressiveness of Christian Missionaries of nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the following works are noteworthy: 1. G.R. Gagg : *The Church and the Age of the Reason*. 2. Alec R. Vidler, *The Church in the Age of Revolution*. 3. Kenneth Scott Latourette : *A History of the Expansion of Christianity* (7 volumes). 4. J.H. Gense : *The Church at the Gateway of India* (on history of Roman Catholic missions). 5. George Bearce : *British Attitude towards India, 1784-1848*. 6. Thomas Mitcalf : *Aftermath of Revolt in India 1857-1870* and 6. Dr John Kent: *The Age of Disunity; Essays on Modern Church History, From Darwin to Blatchford*.
28. On the British Control of the Golden Temple Complex, important documents are:
 - (i) Memoranda on the Sikh Temple, Amritsar, Home Public A. Proceedings: Confidential Feb. 1881
 - (ii) Punjab Govt. Record Office: Lahore Political Diaries 1847-1848 Vol. III.
 - (iii) Punjab Govt. Home Confidential File A.
 - (iv) *Dastur-ul-amal* (Rules and Regulations for the Administration of Golden Temple Complex). It was drawn up on 15th September 1859, by Sardar Jodh Singh, Bhai Lehna Singh, Bhai Parduman Singh, Sardar Jaimal Singh, Sardar Daya Singh, Sardar Shamsher Singh, Sardar Teja Singh and signed by prominent Sikhs and Pujaris.
 - (v) India Office Records: Home Miscellaneous Series, Vol. 760, pp. 1-21.
 - (vi) I learn Dr Ian J. Kerr has written a dissertation on "The Punjab Province and Lahore Districts 1849-1872 'A Case Study of British Colonial Rule and Social Change in India'" in which there is a chapter on the subject. I have not seen this thesis in published form.

CHAPTER 2

ERNEST TRUMPP ON SIKH RELIGION,
HISTORY AND SCRIPTURES

General Nicholson's Sikh regiment, and armies of Patiala and other Sikh states, played a decisive role in saving Englishmen in Delhi from being mercilessly slaughtered to the last man, woman and child. Nicholson had virtually become a Sikh. He had studied Cunningham, learnt daily Sikh prayers, and led such a religious life, that Sikhs of his regiment revered him as a Sikh saint, and after his death, they perpetuated his memory for half a century, by what began to be called Nicholsonian Sikh sect. He showed the utmost reverence to *Guru Granth*. Secretly, everyone started reading and admiring J. D. Cunningham who was loved and greatly respected by all his contemporaries; and even those who recommended his dismissal expressed profound admiration for his talent, bordering genius, his loyalty, his honesty, and above all, his integrity.

It was Robert Needham Cust, who suggested to the Court of Directors on 12 August, 1857, that India office should make arrangement for getting the *Adi Granth* translated into English but unfortunately he suggested the name of the German scholar Dr Ernest Trumpp, Professor Regius of Oriental Languages at the University of Munich, and member of the Royal Bavarian Academy of Sciences. Dr Ernest Trumpp had visited India as, Christian Missionary and his Grammar of Sindhi and Pashto had impressed him.¹ As there were no printing presses except some litho-presses, the Punjab government was in search of an authentic copy of *Guru Granth*.

D.F. McLeod, the financial commissioner of Lahore,

consulted some religious minded Sardars and they suggested that, Sodhi Sadhu Singh of Kartarpur was competent to procure or get prepared authentic copies of the Sacred Scriptures. The Govt. promised to pay for it. Sodhi Sadhu Singh got prepared a copy of *Adi Granth* and *Dasm Granth* and sent them to D.F. McLeod. He got them beautifully bound and fitted in boxes, and sent them to London with utmost care and reverence, through R.H. Davies, Secretary to Govt. of Punjab. He writes, “He (Sodhi Sadhu Singh) also since informed me, that so great a privilege has been always attached by him to the possession of the only true original, that although Maharaja Ranjit Singh had expressed a desire to obtain a copy taken from them, he had refused to give one to him. The Sodhi wanted some recognition for this favour done to the Government”. It was sent to England under the charge of Mr. Prinsep and presented to Oriental Section of the London Library.²

In the mean while, two crude lithoprint copies of *Adi Granth*, and one copy of *Dasm Granth* had been procured by the govt. and sent directly to Dr Ernest Trumpp, on which he had started work.

Dr Trumpp was a learned, Grammarian of Sanskrit. On the pattern of Sanskrit Grammar he wanted to fix the rules of Punjabi Grammar as it was in the text without actually learning Punjabi and other languages and dialects used in *Adi Granth*. He spent a year on it, with the notion and false intellectual pride, that there was no Sikh scholar who knew anything about the Grammar or Linguistic interpretation of the hymns in *Adi Granth*. The Lithoprint copies of the *Adi Granth* were crude and even incorrect. He came to know that the Dadu-panthis had prepared a commentary on *Adi Granth*, and a copy was lying in Asiatic society. He was not able to trace it. On 5th October, 1870 Dr Trumpp wrote to India office: “In reference to the two lithographed copies of the Sikh *Adi Granth* (of the *Daswen Patshah de Granth* no lithograph copy seem to exist). I beg to state:

“As far as I have hitherto been able to compare the

copies with each other, and the manuscript at my disposition, I have found that both the lithographed copies are different, as to its technical execution, the print being now and then unclean and sullied. That, some sheets in it are incorrectly stitched by the binder is of no consequence as, the full index attached to the work and the numericals, with which every page is provided as a safe guide. The second lithographed copy lately received, is superior to the first; the print being much clearer and better, more distinct. But in all other respects, both copies are the same, upto the very letter, and hitherto, I have not been able to detect any distinction, except a few mistakes have been corrected on the stone, as stated by the Sikh Committee, at any rate, the second copy is prefer-able.”

“But of both these lithographed copies, it must be stated, that their text occasionally differ from the manuscript authority, and that, especially, the final vowels are frequently dropped, because they are now no longer pronounced by the Sikhs, though they are very important for the right understanding of the text and grammatical structure of the language which the Bhaïs do not seem to be aware. Some good old manuscript must ‘he prepared.”³ Two points are clear from this letter:

(1) Dr Trumpp was a scholar with remarkable perceptions. There are orthographic signs which are used in *Adi Granth* only for indicating whether the word is singular, plural, noun, verb or adjective; and these signs also indicate the case and other grammatical fixations. These orthographic signs and even some final vowels are not pronounced. It appears that the printer of one of the litho-print copies of the *Adi Granth* had removed these important orthographic signs, and Dr Trumpp, even with-out a mastery over the languages of *Adi Granth*, was able to detect, that, these very important orthographic grammatical signs were essential for the knowledge and study of *Adi Granth*.

(2) Dr Trumpp did not know that besides ordinary

Granthis, *Bhais* and Priests, there were many eminent scholars and interpreters of *Adi Granth* in Amritsar and some *Ashrams* of some saints who were shocked and disgusted by the British attitude to the management of sacred shrines of Amritsar and other holy cities of Punjab. He lived under the false impression that there was no greater scholar of north Indian languages than him, and this intellectual egoism and arrogance, was the greatest hinderance in his efforts to learn and study the languages of *Adi Granth*. A Sanskrit scholar like him could have mastered all these languages if he had with humility and open mind cared to learn these languages, and he could have gained proficiency in them within one year. With his stiff-necked Christian missionary attitude, he had already concluded, that, there was no philosophy worth the attention of a learned Christian like him in this heathenish religion, Sikhism.

After studying the English language for a number of years and after working on the English translation for seven years, Dr Trumpp writes in the Preface to his work, “The English reader will no doubt detect in this volume many an expression that will appear to him more or less unidiomatic. For all such shortcomings, I must beg his pardon, which he will surely grant, when he bears that English is not my mother-tongue, and that I was, therefore, often at a loss how to translate such abstruse philosophical matters, clearly and correctly, into an idiom, which, since I no longer hear it spoken, is gradually receding from my memory.”

It did not occur to Dr Trumpp, that, if he could not grasp English idiom and grammatical structures of the English language (as is clear from his work and correspondence) how could he grasp or understand the languages based on the mother tongue of the Sikh Gurus, Kabir and Ravidas (who lived in Benaras) and Jayadeva of Bengal and Namdev of Maharashtra, without properly studying them from the proper learned teachers of these languages, of which there never was any dearth at any period of our history. These languages had emerged out

of different Prakrits and Appabhramsa in India.

In Punjab, the anxiety to study an authentic translation had increased in official circles. J.D. Cunningham, who died as a martyr to authentic history of Sikhs and Sikhism, was once more alive; and he began to be read not only secretly but was even quoted in official correspondence to stress the importance of *Guru Granth* as an important sacred scriptures.

As nothing had been done upto 1869 even the Governor-General expressed his keenness in a despatch: "It is highly desirable that a really English translation of this work should be very useful, not only to those who are interested in enquiries concerning the manners and customs of the East, but also to such, as have constant official intercourse with the Sikh race. If, however, there be any difficulty in having a translation effected in Europe, the work should certainly be undertaken here without delay. Some account of the '*Granth*' will be found in the Appendix to Cunningham's *History of the Sikhs*. There can be no doubt of the importance of a translation.⁴

Earlier when the copies of old manuscripts were dispatched, Mr. D.F. McLeod, Financial Commissioner of Lahore had written: "I would now suggest that these two volumes which I have had fitted into suitable boxes, be sent to England for deposit in the Oriental Library belonging to Her Majesty. By their being thus disposed of, not only will be valuable addition be made to the manuscripts of the above Library, but the very best opportunity will be afforded to the Oriental scholars of Europe, who may so incline to study the books, and translate it into English or other European tongue. In India, the *Gurmukhi* language and characters do not appear to have been taken up by any of our oriental scholars with interest, and I know no one here who possesses the requisite knowledge, inclination and be sure for the task of making the translation. I would strongly recommend, therefore, as the preferable courses that the scholars of England and of Continental continue to be invited to undertake the task

on which they would bring to bear philosophical appliances and opportunities, and an amount of oriental re-search and learning to be looked for here. “5

Thus, British interest in this translation in Punjab at all levels was genuine. But unfortunately, the missionary German scholar who was selected for this stupendous task was neither linguistically equipped nor did he had even a rudimentary respect for oriental doctrines, religious philosophical and mystical thoughts, which were different from or contrary to dogmatic Christian ideas. After wasting about a year on superficial intellectual exploration on the basis of his knowledge of Sanskrit and to some extent of Prakrit, when he realized that he was not able to move a step towards a correct translation of *Adi Granth*, he came to India.

He was first given some ordinary *Granthis* (priests) of Lahore to help him. But they failed to communicate with him as they did not know Sanskrit or English and he did not know Punjabi. He was told that there were learned scholars in Amritsar.

Baba Sham Singh was a great contemporary saint who lived to the age of 123, and died in 1923. He has written a book: “*Bhagat Prem Prakash Granth*” in which he has given brief notices of eminent saints and scholars who lived in Amritsar for over a century. He had first hand information of earlier period from his teacher Bhai Ram Singh whose father and grandfather were bodyguards of Guru Gobind Singh. The names of eminent saints and scholars who lived in Amritsar and their brief life and influence is concisely given. None was better informed than he because he performed early morning *Kirtan* in the Golden Temple on his *Saranda* (a specially designed stringed musical instrument)” for nearly half a century. When Trumpp visited Amritsar he was there.⁶ His student Bhai Manna Singh could recite the *Guru Granth* from memory and was a living authority on pronunciation and interpretation.

. The influential Sikh aristocratic Sardars who had

acquired prestigious positions under the new Imperialism started searching some learned *Granthis* and *Kathakars* (interpreters of the *Guru Granth*) to meet Dr Ernest Trumpp where he wanted them to be summoned. They brought a copy of the *Guru Granth* which they considered correct. He desired the copy to be placed on the table before him, which they reluctantly did. He harangued a lecture of his vast knowledge and he tried to impress them that he knew the Grammar and language of *Adi Granth* better than them. The *Granthis* and *priests* sat meekly before him for sometime, listening patiently to his arro-gant talk. Fear of the British authorities prevented them from opening their mouth. I learn Pundit Hazara Singh maternal uncle of Bhai Vir Singh was among them. To the dismay and electrifying shock of all Sardars and priests present, he opened the *Adi Granth* without showing any respect for it as one would open a book which is Greek to the person handling it. He then lighted his cigar and holding it in one hand started scanning it with the other. No one had to tell the Sikhs what they should have done under the circumstances. They wrapped up the *Adi Granth* and went away swearing never to see his face again, mum-bling curses on him.

Dr Ernest Trumpp, then, found no alternative except to engage two Sanskrit knowing Brahmins to assist him. At a later stage, a Nirmala scholar also came forward to render some help. Two *Granthis* also were engaged on payment. Three commentaries were suggested to him, “two of which”, he says, “explained in a rough way a number of obsolete Hindi and deshi (provincial words) and the other a number of Arabic and Persian words which were re-ceived into the Granth in a very mutilated form. These commentaries though very deficient proved very useful to me, and I the copied as their owners would not part with them.

This clue clearly indicates that these two volumes were

(1) *Pryae Sri Guru Granth Sahib (Punjabi and Hindi and Desi words* and (2) *Sikh Guru Granth ji ke math se Pryae*

farsi pad ke. Both are by Bhai Chanda Singh Giani, a well known theologian of the eighteenth century.⁸ Trumpp gives no clue to the third work he acquired. But if he had acquired Bhai Mani Singh's *Janamsakhi*, many copies of which were available he would have got the best interpretations of all the major works of Guru Nanak and many other verses of the Founder. But his advisers on Sikh history and scriptures were two Punjabi Brahmins and this is what he has to say about them:

"The Brahmins, who alone would have had the necessary erudition to lend me a helping hand, never had deigned to pay any attention to the *Granth*, owing to the animosity which formerly existed between the Sikhs and the Hindu community."⁹

These Brahmins would not even look into the *Guru Granth* because this type of proud, bigoted touch-me-not Brahmins are criticized in the writings of all the Gurus and more so in the writings of such Bhaktas as Kabir, Ravidas and Namdev who were victimized, insulted and humiliated by proud Brahmins of this period. There were many sources of information on Sikh history most of which were used by J. D. Cunningham, but Dr Trumpp relied only on these anti-Sikh Brahmin misinformers.

He had undertaken to translate the whole of *Adi Granth*, but he has translated less than one-fourth of it. He first asked his *Granthi* helpers to give a line to line meaning of which he tried to prepare a running translation. He says. "I soon found that this would not do, as I frequently perceived that I had been misled by them (the *Granthis*). As I went on (reading) I noted down all grammatical forms and obsolete words. I met with, and thus I gradually drew up a grammar and a dictionary, so that I could refer to every passage again. After I had gone through the *Granth* in this wearisome way and prepared my tools, I returned to Europe in the spring of 1872, and began to write down the translation for the press. "10 Had he learnt Punjabi and allied languages of the *Guru Granth* he might have been better equipped and he could have

prepared himself better in two years.

“Traditive = traduttire”, ‘the translator is a traitor’, is an old Italian equation; all translations involve distortion. Information is inevitably lost in the abyss between the source and receptor languages and the greater the differences between the two languages, the two cultures, the greater and deeper the abyss, the more perilous the crossings. The language produces and reflects the culture as the culture produces and reflects the language. They are inextricable.”¹¹ Dr Ernest Trumpp was ignorant of the language and culture of Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, Bengal, the authors of which religion he was translating and he was equally unequipped with the language and the culture of the English, into whose language he was translating the *Adi Granth*. He admits that “the English language which he had learnt was already fading out of his mind by the time he was writing his Preface to it.”¹²

Those who considered him a great and outstanding scholar of oriental languages continued to accept what he had written about *Adi Granth* as gospel-truth and did not care to look beyond it. But within a decade all scholars and even the British officials started feeling that they have been cheated into believing what he has said. From the view-point of ambitious Christian Missionaries and the Imperialists his presentation of the work was remarkable in its ability of running down this heathenish religion, Sikhism, which they were sure was decaying and dying and could be easily replaced by Christianity whose superiority he had reflected in all the pages of his work. It was the religion of the civilized conquerors.

In order to cover up his own shortcomings and inability to translate the whole *Adi Granth* which he was committed to do, he passed damning remarks about the contents of *Adi Granth* saying: “The Sikh *Granth* is a very big volume, but, incoherent and shallow in the extreme, and couched at the same time in dark and perplexing language, in order to cover these defects. It is for us occidentals a most painful and almost stupefying task, to

read only a single *Rag*, and I doubt if any ordinary reader will have the patience to proceed to the second *Rag* after he shall have perused the first. It would therefore be a mere waste of paper to add also the minor *Rags*, which only repeat, in endless variations, what has already been said in the great *Rags* over and over again, without adding the least to our knowledge.”¹³

Dr Trumpp again repeats these remarks even when he gives an incorrect outline of the contents of *Adi Granth* where he says, “By thus jumbling together whatever came in hand, without any judicious selection, the *Granth* has become the extremely incoherent and wearisome book, the *few* thoughts and ideas, that it contains, being re-peated in endless variations which are for the great part is nothing but a mere jangling of words.”¹⁴

As Grammarian and Linguist whose studies were con-fined to Sanskrit and some Sindhi and Pashtu Grammarial essays, Dr Trumpp had no sense of history. He had a philosophic bent of mind but he looked at philosophy from the point of view of a Christian missionary and theo-logian, but with all the contemptuous and undignified remarks about the Sikhs and Sikh Scriptures he has not failed to note and record his admiration of the ‘linguistic treasures’ in the *Adi Granth* and draw the attention of even the Sikhs to his remarkably correct analysis of the Prosody of the *Adi Granth*. He says “Though the *Granth*, as regards its contents, is perhaps the most shallow and empty book that exists, in proportion to its size, it is on the other hand, *from* a linguistic point of view, of the greatest inter-est to us, as it is a real treasury of the old Hindi dialects, the specimens of which have been preserved therein which are not to be found anywhere else.”¹⁵ He was sure, and perhaps rightly so that further investigation into the lan-guage will fill the gap between old Prakrit dialects and the modern languages of Aryan.

Gu-rus” indicate that Dr Ernest Trumpp had studied the following books: 1. Cunningham, “*History of the Sikhs*”, *Dabistan*, Malcolm, *Sketch of the Sikhs*, Mc Gregor, “*History of the Sikhs*” Vol. I, Attar Singh’s *Travels of Guru Tegh Bahadur and Guru Gobind Singh*; Briggs: *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin* Attar Singh: *Sakhi Book* (Translation of *Sau Sakhi*). Yet he leans heavily on Sharda Ram Phillauri’s *Sikhan de Raj di Vithiya*, in which the Arya Samajist bias is visible on every page. Even where he is correct he is rejected probably under the advice of his Brahmin advisers who gave him some oral traditions that have no basis.

On *Guru Nanak* he claims to have based his account on *janamsakhis* (Colebrook MSS) and Bala’s *janamsakhi* Lithographed copy. He calls *Guru Nanak* Founder of Sikhism whose works are dark and unintelligible to him. To the Christian missionaries like him, the miracles of *Guru Nanak*’s biographic accounts are rubbish and absurd,” but similar miracles in the Gospels are authentic and must be accepted. Those French scholars like Ernest Renan and many German scholars who tried to rationalize the miracles of the Bible and showed disbelief in them lost their Govt posts in France and Germany. Of this he was aware. He, however, believes that *Guru Nanak*’s disappearance in the stream (*Bein*) near Sultanpur and initiation into a prophetic *Call* was a historical fact. It was *Nanak*’s initiation into Guruship.

On all other *Gurus* his statements are blistering with error. *Guru Nanak* selected a *Kshatriya* as his successor “because Brahmin of any note or learning had not joined him.” Angad was altogether unlettered and could himself neither read or write,” and a few of his verses in the *Granth* are a poor repetition of the words of *Nanak* and shallow in the extreme. “16 He rightly says “All the Sikh *Gurus* call themselves ‘*Nanak*’, in order to designate themselves as legitimate successors of *Nanak*.” About *Guru Amar Das* also he says “Though unlettered like his master, who could teach him only the few simple tenets, he had heard him-self from *Nanak*, he composed many verses, which

are conspicuous for simplicity and cleanness.”¹⁷ “Ram Das, though without any scientific education gave himself much to literary work”. He states “Guru Arjun was the first to meddle with politics and he contemptuously asserts that he inserted considerable extracts from earlier popular saints in the *Granth Sahib* i.e. the Book held sacred as the Bible of the Sikhs, supplanting gradually the authority of the Veda and Puranas, which the unlettered people had never been able to read, whereas the *Granth* was composed in their mother-tongue, intelligible to the vulgar.” “Under Guru Arjun the Sikhs became a self-governing people within the State.”¹⁸ He gives confused and conflict-ing traditions about his martyrdom. His account of Guru Hargobind is based on *Dabistiin* mainly, and says “Guru Hargobind has given quite a different appearance to the Sikh community. The peaceful Faqirs were changed into soldiers and the Gurus’ camp resounded with the din of war; the rosary was laid aside and the sword buckled on.”¹⁹

Nearly thirty years earlier, Cunningham, with his honest historical perceptions and insight into the moral and spiritual struggle of Sikhs and Sikhism, had summed up the historical process of Sikh religion thus: “Nanak disengaged his little society of worshippers from the Hindu idolatory and Mohammadan superstition, and placed them free on a broad .basis of religious and moral purity; Amar Das preserved the infant community from declining into a sect of quietists or ascetics; Arjun gave his increasing followers a written rule of conduct and a civil organiza-tion. Hargobind added the use of arms and a military system; Gobind Singh bestowed upon them a distinct political existence and inspired them with the desire of being socially free and nationally independent. No further legislation was required; firm persuasion had been elaborated, and a vague feeling had acquired consistence as an active principle. The operation of this faith became a fact, is only now in progress, and the fruit it may yet bear cannot be foreseen. Sikhism arose, where fallen and corrupt Brahmanical doctrines were most

strongly acted on by the vital and spreading Mohammedan belief. "20

Dr Ernest Trumpp with his Christian Missionary bias, and professedly anti-Sikh Punjabi Brahmin advisers and guides, and a staunch Arya Samajist book "*Sikhan de Raj di*

Vithiya" as his source of Sikh history, gives self-contradictory, and malicious opinions and passes unsubstantiated remarks about Sikh Gurus and their teachings: His state-ments about Guru Gobind Singh's life and teachings are wrong and utterly false. God alone knows from where he got such facts as: "The Guru offered the head of twenty five or five Sikhs at Naina Devi to please the goddess Durga." He confuses the Battle of Bhangani (the first battle) with the battle of Chamkaur, the last battle. He either did not care to read and know the correct facts about Guru Gobind Singh's life and work or he ignored them and has recorded these hearsay stories and street-gossips which denigrate the image of Guru Gobind Singh.

TRUMPP ON SIKH DOCTRINES AND PHILOSOPHY

Although Trumpp tries to bring out many metaphysical and ethical doctrines of Sikhism, he starts with his usual offensive criticism: "Nanak was not a speculative philosopher, had no regular school training." The doctrines on which he emphasizes are:

UNITY OF THE SUPREME BEING

He stresses on the belief in one God but is unable to grasp the relation that is made clear between the Eternal Absolute Creator and the All-pervading Spirit: What ap-pears to him pantheism is what is now called *Panantheism*. He is also quite unaware of the fact that the approach of Guru Nanak to God, Man, Nature and the Universe is not of a speculative philosopher but of a mystical apostle who knows God through the inner experience of His immanence and a direct vision of His Transcendence. God is not speculated upon. He is visibly seen within the Self, within Nature and the Universe. Trumpp finds in the *Adi Granth* a grosser Pantheism and a finer one.²¹ The grosser identifies all things with the Absolute and the finer distinguishes

the finite beings with Absolute. He is right when he says that in Sikhism “It is the aim and object of the individual soul as a divine spark to be reunited with the fountain of Light, from which it has emanated, and to be re-absorbed in it. As long as it has not reached its goal it is unhappy, being separated from its source, the Supreme.”²² He dwells on the relations of God and Guru in Sikh Scriptures but he is not able to bring out any aspect clearly.

DOCTRINE OF NAM, DAN, ISHMAN AND TIRATH, TAP, DAN

Religious Path in many religions is summed up in brief Triple or Four Fold or Five Fold Duties. Trumpp dwells on the two quite important and popular duties which are mentioned in *Adi Granth*: *Nam Dan Ishman* i.e. remembering the Name, giving alms and practising ablutions” is one. He does not give the details (see Chapter 12 for detailed comments).

The other triple doctrine is *Tirath, Tap, Dan*: “Austerities (*tap*), renunciation of the world and its pleasure (*Udasl*), bathing at holy watering places (*tirath*) giving of alms (*dan*) are not denied to be meritorious acts, but they are by no means sufficient in giving complete emancipations as they are not powerful enough to clear away egotism.”²³ (on Tirath pilgrimage) see Chapter 12).

REHITNAMAS

Trumpp’s approach to Code of Conduct of the Khalsa Holy Order is almost correct. He quotes from Attar Singh’s crude and literal translations of some *Rehitnamas*. Trumpp writes: Guru Gobind Singh did not and could not essentially change the teachings of his predecessors. He describes the Supreme Being nearly in the same terms in his Jap, as *Adi Granth* does. The changes and additions he made in Sikhism concerned chiefly the ceremonial and social duties of its adherents; as he received men of all castes and creeds into the Khalsa and endeavoured to weld them into one religion and political body, he set up a number of new ordinances binding on all. These injunctions

are laid down in a number of so called *Rehitnamas* or books of conduct which all pretend to be dictated but none of them appear to be genuine.” (See further discussion on *Rehitnamas* in Chapter 7).

Trumpp also notices some denominations of Sikh panth, some of which were reformatory Ingroups but others were innovative Outgroups. The Ingroups he has mentioned are Akalis (Nihangs), *Udasis*, *Suthre*, *Diwane Sadh*, *Nirmalas* and *Gulab-dasls* (who were like our present day Communist Sikhs). About them Trumpp says: “Gulab-dasis are” an atheistic materialistic sect who deny every creation and the existence of any Supreme Being.”

SIKHISM CLOSER TO BUDDHISM THAN TO CLASSICAL HINDUISM OR VAISHNAVISM

The presence of the hymns of Bhaktas who in their early life were either Vaishnavas or Hindus belonging to some other sect has tempted many scholars to bracket Sikhism with Vaishnavism. At first Trumpp also tries to identify it with Vaishnavism and Shaivism, whose doctrines are criticized and rejected in hundreds of verses in the *Adi Granth*. A Vaishnava is worshipper of Vishnu and a Shaiva is worshipper of Shiva. Sikhs do not worship any of these gods in any form. They believe in their cosmic existence and role in the creation but they do not accept them as deities worth worshipping.

Trumpp was attracted by the doctrines of *Sunya* and *Nirvana* in *Adi Granth* and this tempted him to say that “Buddhism is in reality, like Sikhism. Although he has seen only the pessimistic aspect of Buddhism he was surprised to see the emergence in *Adi Granth* of Buddhist ideals.

Puran Singh who had studied Hinduism, Buddhism and Sikhism to the deepest roots of these religions sums up the relation correctly in his book written in 1924. “The attitude of the learned Hindus, both of the past and present, towards Buddhism, and towards the Gurus, have caused me, both as a Sikh and as a Hindu born, a deep

wound, as I believed that they and their ancestors before them, in their intellectual pride and merely speculative spirit of clinging to some mental unrealities as truths, have not permitted Buddhism in the past - the great Buddhism that went and leavened the masses of Japan and Burma and even China - and the Religion of the Gurus now, to wipe out the prevalent inertia and not impart the leaven of life which would make for progress." "The famous intellectual Hindus of our age are, merely excited in their intellectual centres, and they excite others also in the same centres. They talk and declaim. Excitement begets excitement, and they all end in dense fog. They are meta-physicians trying to conquer realms of truth by their won-derful logic."²⁴ With his ingrained Christian missionary bias, the mental confusion and fog created by his Brahmin advisers, made him purblind to the truth of Sikhs and Sikhism, which all foreigners and travellers could see.

TRUMPP ON LANGUAGE AND PROSODY OF ADI GRANTH

Although Trumpp criticized *Adi Granth* from all aspects, he calls it a treasure of linguistic information. He made himself utterly blind to its linguistic wealth by calling even the Prakrit and Apabhramsa of Jayadev a mixture of Sanskrit and vulgar tongue. But when he applied his knowledge of Sanskrit Prosody, and analysed the verses which he grasped correctly, the results are unique and remarkable. Sikh Scholars of the eighteenth century wrote on history and theology in verse and for them the science of versification was common knowledge. But no Sikh Scholar upto the time of Trumpp, had analysed so accurately the Prosody of verses of *Adi Granth* as this German scholar has done.

On the question of language he merely concludes that the "idiom of the *Granth* is well worth a closer investigation as we shall thereby get a clearer insight into the formation of the modern North Indian vernaculars."²⁵ In his analysis he has very accurately marked the syllables, fixed the feet. He shows remarkable knowledge of the

metrical laws of classical *Chhandas*. He says “The Sikhs themselves seem now to have lost all knowledge of metricallaws of the *Granth*, for I never met a person who could give me the least clue to them, *and the learned Brahmins disdain to read the Granth.*”²⁶

Trumpp explains the method of analysing the verses correctly and has explained the following verses commonly found in the *Adi Granth*: *Doha (Dohra), Soratha, Dupada, Tipada, Chaupada, Panjpada, AshtjJadi Shloka, Dakhana, Chhant, Pauri, Svaiya* and the *Gatha*. We give below his remarkably correct analysis and statement on Guru Arjun Dev’s *Gatha*.

THE GATHA

The Gatha, of which only a small piece (of 24 stanzas by Arjun) is to be found in the *Granth*, is not the usual Arya metre, consisting of 7% feet respectively and containing $30+27=57$ *Kalas*, but comprehends a number of the many varieties of that metre, which have come into use in the later Prakrit and are destitute of the end-rhyme, for which they substitute an internal rhyme after the twelfth mora, though not always. Each stanza must therefore be scanned by itself, in order to determine the exact metre. We subjoin here as examples the first two Cathas.

The first Gatha is a couplet scanned by $29+29=58$ *Kalas* and called *Vigiti*, as:

eogb gjj g ; l-rEk go; wkBlyPdJ zwbhD/..

karpura I puhapa sugandha 11 parsa I manukhya 1

deham 1 malinai .. $12+17=29$ K.

wi k ofXo dprXk BkBe nFE ropB nrkBD/..

majja 1 rudhira dur I gandha llnanaka 1 atthi I garbena

I agyanano .. $12+17=$ 29 K.

58 K.

The second Gatha is a couplet scanned by $27+29$ and called *Candrikii* as:

gowkD' goi ks nkek; j dhg b'h f; yvDj ..

pramano . prajanti . akasaha . dipa I loa si .

khandanaha 11 15+12=27K
 rSD BD GkoD BkBe fpBk ; kX{B f; X{/..
 gachena . naina . bharena .. nanaka . bina . sadhii na .
 sidhyate . 12+17= 29 K
 56 K²⁷

There was a bitter reaction against Trumpp's translation and offensive Introduction in the Sikh world. Almost all societies protested and some protests were sent to the governor of Punjab and the Governor-General also. Macauliffe who decided to devote his life and resources to the study of Sikhism delivered two lectures in London one of which was presided by Sir C.M. Rivas and the other by Lord Kitchner. In his first lecture he referred to Cunningham's labours and Dr Trumpp's translation of *Adi Granth*. About Dr Trumpp he said, "When he visited Amritsar, the headquarters of Sikh religion, he, through the agency of the civil officers, had the Sikh priests of that city summoned before him. In the course of their conference he told them that he was versed in Sanskrit literature and they were not, *ergo* he understood the *Granth Sahib* better than they. The conference ended by his pull-ing out his cigar case and perflming the *Granth Sahib*, which lay before him on the table, with tobacco smoke. The use of tobacco not being in the Sikh religion, the Gyanis fled in horror at what they deemed the profana-tion of their sacred volume. For these and other reasons, partly due to the conservation of the Sikhs at that period, Dr Trumpp was unable to obtain the assistance of compe-tent *gyanls* or interpretors of the Sikh Scriptures, and af-ter some time he took the *Adi Granth* to Munich with him, and there aided by German genius of industry produced what he considered a translation of it. *Anyone gifted with the powers of divination may be able to understand portions of it; and the manner in which he allowed his odium theologicum to assert itself may be found described in Sikh memorials to the Viceroy.* I much regret to have to make these remarks on the departed scholar, who was plodding and earnest

in his own way. I only do so because men, who ought to know better, have so often met me with the objection that his work, which the Sikhs regard as a standing insult, is a sufficient exposition of their religion.”²⁸

Louis Henry Jordan in his book *Comparative Religion* says, “Dr Trumpp beyond all question was but meagerly equipped for his task. His knowledge of English was very imperfect, perhaps almost as imperfect as his knowledge of the various dialects which he set.”

British officials like Robert Needham Cust, who had blind faith in the presumed learning and scholarship of Ernest Trumpp, wrote in a review in *Athenaeum*, London 1878, “The real meaning of *Adi Granth*, is in many instances, totally unknown to the Sikhs themselves, who possess no learned class. The Brahmins who from generation to generation have taken pains by commentaries and grammatical treatises to keep alive the meaning or at least some scholastic interpretation of the meaning of their sacred Sanskrit books, would not so much as look at the vernacular effusions of an heretical teacher (like Guru Nanak), any more than Cardinal Manning would look at Bishop Ryles tracts.”

There were very few English knowing Sikh loyalists like Sir Attar Singh, whose books in English were used by Ernest Trumpp, but they did not dare to utter a word against a translation patronized and produced by Queen Victoria’s government, but he wrote vehemently against revolutionary Baba Ram Singh Namdhari. This is still the policy of loyalist Sikhs who pretend to be spokesmen of the Sikhs. It is only when Mr. Macauliffe started his work on Sikh history and Scripture, Khalsa Diwan, Lahore and other organizations started lodging protests with the Vice-roy Lord Curzon, ten years after Trumpp’s work was published.

These letters, preserved in I.O.L. and British Museum state: “The translation made by Dr Trumpp is bristling with sentences altogether wide the mark of the meaning, so much so that one regrets the useless labour, the large

amount of money spent in vain.” “Dr Trumpp’s translation did not appeal in many cases even to Englishmen.” Even though the Sikhs woke up from the sleep of ignorance and fear of offending the Rulers after a decade, within five years eminent scholars like Pincott and Edmund Candler made an indepth study of Sikh history, culture and scriptures and wrote illuminating articles and books paying tributes to Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh and giving scholarly study of Sikh doctrines and scriptures. We will bring to light the truth about their unmatched contributions in Part II and III of this book.

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2. *ibid* : Letter of D.F. McLeod, Financial Commissioner to R.H. Davus, Secretary to Govt. Punjab dated 13 Nov. 1957. I have seen this copy. It is beautifully bound and preserved.
3. Foreign Dept. Genl A, Dec. 1870, No. 1-2. (Dr Ernest Trumpp’s letter dated 5th October 1870 written from Ruttingen, Westemberg to India Office, London).
4. Foreign Dept., Genl. A, July 1869, No. 68-69.
5. *ibid*.
6. Baba Sham Singh who was considered a *Brahm-Giani* was placed under the tutorship of Sant Bhai Ram Singh near about 1800 A.D. Bhai Ram Singh’s father Gurdial Singh and grandfather Gurbax Singh were bodyguards of Guru Gobind Singh upto his last days. Through his teachers Bhai Ram Singh and Bhai Sahai Singh, both outstanding mystics he knew many contemporaries and near con-temporaries of Guru Gobind Singh. He was given eye witness accounts of the rebuilding of the Golden Temple. He gave charge of his dera to a Sindhi devotee Baba Sahai Singh, who was ousted by Sant-Babas by organized trickstery, incidently met Baba Sahai Singh who is over 90 in 1983. He has the original copy and pre-cious relics of Baba Sham Singh.
7. Ernest Trumpp, *The Adi Granth*, Preface, VI.
8. I acquired copies of these manuscripts from the British Museum in 1976. There are some more Manuscripts available now.
9. Ernest Trumpp, *The Adi Granth*, Preface VI.
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PART II

WILLIAM HEWAT McLEOD AS SCHOLAR OF SIKH HISTORY, RELIGION AND CULTURE

“The Sikh is not a Hindu or a Muslim; he is the disciple of the One Eternal Guru of the world; and all who learn from Him are truly Sikhs and must not corrupt his teachings with the confused utterances of the men who live among them and around.

Sikhism is not disguised Hindu sect, but an independent revelation of the one Truth of all sects; it is no variant of Mus-lim teachings, save in that, it too proclaims the love of God and the need for men to hold Him always in their heart. It too is distinct religion like the other great religions of the world. “

Duncan Greenlees ; *The: Gospel of Sri Guru
Granth Sahib*, p. 21.

“Guru Nanak was not a Reformer. We know he was not a Hindu who appealed to the Hindu scriptures in order to reform Hindu society. We know he was not a Muslim trying to eradicate evils in Muslim society by appealing to the Quran. I do not find in his teachings any attempt at a reconciliation of Hinduism and Islam, any combination of existing patterns of beliefs to constitute a new and more pleasing pattern. In fact, he set both Hinduism and Islam aside to get to the source of religion itself. He was an Originator, a Founder.”

Prof. M. Mujeeb: Former Vice Chancellor,
Jamia Millia,
Relevance of Guru Nanak's Teachings Today.
University News VIII, No. 11
(No. 169, New Delhi).

CHAPTER 3

**HEW McLEOD'S IRRATIONAL METHODOLOGY
AND OFFENSIVE UNHISTORICAL CRITICISM**

“Western irrationalism, which is one of the dogs running through this essay, is not confined to knowledge alone. While some Westerners are given opportunities to devote themselves to the study of the Asian civilization, others are at the same time bent upon its massive destruction.”

Frits Stall, *Exploring Mysticism*, p. 12

In the year 1783, when the Sikhs were fighting their last battle for establishing a Sikh Sovereign State against the Mughals and the Mghan invaders, a brilliant thirty-seven year old scholar set sail from England with the rank and title of a knight to take up his appointment as judge of Supreme Court of Fort William. The first thing he did was to establish *Asiatic Society* in Calcutta to promote oriental studies and encourage research in history, geography, zoology, botany and geology. His name was Sir William Jones.

In order to learn Sanskrit he paid Pundit Ram Lochan Rs. 500 per month. He had to take bath, put on a *dhoti* before he could sit reverently to learn Sanskrit, and no doubt, within a few years he became the Nestor of Sanskrit Studies. He died in 1794, when six volumes of his Work were already published. During this period the Sikhs Were still struggling against Afghan invaders. The Western world was virtually ignorant about the Sikhs. Only some travellers and observers like the Swiss Engineer Col Polier and George Forster recorded their observations as unbiased and serious enquirers. They had as Forster says “no

tendency to discolour or misrepresent truth”, and were guided by no view of interest, nor impressed by any frown of power”. With a remarkable foresight he predicted the emergence of a Sikh state under a Monarchy: “In the defence and recovery of their country, the Sikhs (Sicques) displayed a courage of the most obstinate kind and manifested a preservance, under the pressure of calamities, when the common danger roused them to action, and gave but one impulse to their spirit. Should any future cause call forth the combined efforts of the Sikhs to maintain the existence of empire and religion, we may see some ambitious chief led on by his genius and success, and absorbing the power of his associates, display from the ruins of their commonwealth, the standard of monarchy.”

Three types of scholars of Sikhism emerged. The Imperialist of the Raj who could not tolerate the truth about the social, cultural and political aspirations of the Sikhs. The Christian Missionaries who took indecent delight in running down Sikh religion, history and Scriptures. There were some isolated voices of Christian Missionaries who had the moral courage to admire and present factual study of Sikhism. Towards the end of the nineteenth century there arose some scholars who knew Persian and some Indian languages. They were able to peep into Sikh historical documents and Scriptures and wrote learned essays on various aspects of Sikhism, which were neither relished by the British Imperialists, nor appreciated by Brahmanical cultural imperialists (Hindu writers who looked down upon Sikhism as a petty religious sect of low caste and rustic people and have patronizingly included Guru Nanak in the history of Nirgun School of Poetry in Hindi literature). Out of these emerged courageous self-sacrificing learned scholars like Max Arthur Macauliffe.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY APPROACH

Charles Grant who took active steps of Christianize

this country described India as a land of moral darkness and idolatry. He did not expect Indians to suffer British rule indefinitely unless they were Christianized. In his opinion, those who opposed Christian missionaries were trampling on the Cross.

In India Christian missionary centres were established in Ludhiana, Amritsar and Lahore, but the backward areas where they were getting the maximum of converts were Batala, the rural city in which they established a school and subsequently a college (where Dr W.H. McLeod and other colleagues of his group worked for some years), and Moga in Ludhiana district. From the Moga region emerged a saint, Sadhu Sunder Singh, who was inspired more by the spiritual and mystical personality of Christ than by Christian theology. The author's father met Sadhu Sunder Singh in the summer capital of Burma in Shan states long before his birth.² However, in Punjab the Christian Missionaries did not meet the type of success which they achieved in Bengal. In Calcutta Dr Alexander Duff succeeded in converting Kalicharan Banerjee who was Registrar of Calcutta University and the founder of Indian National Congress. Some of the new converts revelled in shocking prejudices of the orthodox Hindus by throwing beef into Hindu houses and eating from the hands of the Muslims. Young poet Michael Madhusudan Datta loved classical Sanskrit literature but hated Hinduism. He wrote, "Though as a jolly Christian youth, I don't care a pin's head for Hinduism, I love the grand mythology of our ancestors." His *Meghnadbadh*, an episode from *Ramayana* reproduced in Bengali blank verse, became a masterpiece of Bengali literature. Rabindranath Tagore criticized the Sanskritized Bengali used by the poet.³ Rabindranath's father Debendranath Tagore was greatly upset by the Christian conversion. Everyday he went on his horse carriage to all the leading families of Calcutta to persuade them not to send their children to Christian Missionary schools and colleges.⁴ Brahmo Samaj Schools Were opened as an alternative in which non-

idolatorous and Monotheist religious literature including selections from *Guru Granth* were taught. Gifted scholars like Keshav Chander Sen, Ishwar Chander Vidyasagar did a lot to stem the tide of mass conversion.⁵

But in Punjab Swami Dayananda and fanatical Mus-lims introduced acrimonious debates, which concentrated on senseless and malicious attacks on other religions. In Lahore Giani Dit Singh, a low caste Hindu convert to Sikhism, and a Sanskrit scholar gave a stunning defeat to Swami Dayanand in one of these open debates, which resembled free style verbal wrestling in method, and included attacks and counter attacks, offence and counter offence in public, recorded by him in his "*Mera Swami Dayanand na sambad.*" (*My Debate and Discussion with Swami Dayanand*). But close to the Batala Christian missionary centre, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, leader of the Ahmadiya movement stationed at Qadian challenged the works of Christ, and in reply to Christian missionary criticism of Islam, he wrote a whole book raising the following allegations against the founder of Christianity: (1) That He exceeded all bounds of vulgar abuse of the Jews, (2) That He was given to drunkenness, (3) That He was disrespectful to His mother, (4) That He was friendly with women of questionable character, (5) That His teachings were too idealistic and impracticable, (6) That He grew angry and lost His temper, (7) That He was provincial and that his message was only for the few, (8) That He was weak and helpless and His mission was a failure, (9) Such miracles as turning of water to wine, the cursing of the fig tree, destruction of the herd of swine are cited as Jesus' lack of moral judgement."⁶

This was the Islamic response to Batala Christian Missionary activities during the years 1878-1889 A.D. Such attacks on religions virtually died down during 1930-1960 and the relations between Sikhs and Christians were at their best. But Dr Hew McLeod and his associates in Baring Christian College, Batala, formed a society called "*Institute of Christian Approach to Sikhism*" and out of this group

have emerged extremely vulgar attacks on Sikh history, religion and culture, spearheaded by a number of books written with the same intellectual arrogance of scientific analytical methods with which Ernest Trumpp criticized Sikhism and Mirza Ghulam Ahmad criticized Christ and Christianity.

HISTORICAL METHODOLOGY AND RATIONAL CRITICISM

“To be an historian”, says Professor Toynbee, “means trying to jump clear of the particular time and place at which one happens to have been born and brought up. It means trying to look at History from some standpoint that is one’s own, and that is more central, and therefore, more objective than one’s own is likely to be. This is the first, the most important and the most difficult piece of business on the historical agenda. Owing to the temporary predominance of the West over the rest of the world, there has been a tendency, in the rest of the world to take over this western view of history uncritically together with the dominant western civilization’s other manners and customs.”⁷

“History”, says the French Philosopher Jacques Maritain, “can neither be rationally explained nor reconstructed according to necessitating laws. But history can be characterized; interpreted or disciplined in a certain measure and as to certain general aspects - to the extents to which we succeeded in disclosing its meaning or intel-ligible directions and laws which enlighten events, with-out necessitating them.”⁸

Professor Graham in his essay “*Some Considerations of Historical Research*” says, “A historian is not a mere digger of documents, a drudge and pedant. There should be illumination of concepts and ideas. Some historians put everything upside down like the zealous architects in Gulliver’s travels who tried to construct a building starting with the roof first and then the walls and then the foundation. This is what some historians do with their fine conjectures, pre-supposition and half-truths and

patent misconstructions. To doubt established facts and spin distorted history shows naivette lack of sincerity and original thought.”

“This is the age of scientific methods as applied to historical research; our grandfathers did not have the tools and techniques that we have developed in the twentieth century. But that is no reason for ignoring the old historians of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries who could think and write with a breadth and generosity of spirit that sometimes eludes us today. Historical research is not a game or a mechanical efficiency test; the object is to bring the past to life as accurately as possible and that means more than squeezing a few documents, and adding the paraphernalia of references. It is possible for an immature student or one with a particular bent or bias to have correct documentary references and yet write completely unreliable history.”⁹

Prof. Graham adds, “The footnote reference is not necessarily the sign of a scholar and apart entirely from pretentious padding (e.g. in some Ph. D. thesis), the reference simply indicates a source which may or may not have been explored and tested with scholarly care and acumen. The key to scholarship is not then to be found in accumulation of formidable reference which denote breadth and depth of documentary toil; it is not simply a question of methods or techniques. Indeed the danger of strictly historical method, courses, is that they may encourage parochialism and a pedantary. With all the photostats and microfilms and card catalogues and statistical machines, history is not a product of established routines. History is essentially a handicraft; mechanical devices and techniques of research are an aid, but they are not substitute for scholarly learning, disciplined imagination, judgment and instinct.”¹⁰

Pope Pius XI while appointing Cardinal Facchinetta as Apostolic Delegate to Libya said in confidence to him, “Do not think that you are going among infidels. Muslims attain to salvation. The ways of Providence are infinite.”

But missionary scholars like Ernest Trumpp and Hew McLeod have not learnt this lesson. For them Christianity is a Western religion, scientific, and rational while all other Oriental religions are Eastern, backward, unscientific and primitive and with the means of publication available to them they can take the liberty to condemn and prove worthless even such religions as Sikhism. With all the Western techniques of discursive criticism they think that it is easy to expose to ridicule it as a “*Forgotten tradition*”,¹¹ by creating confusion about Sikh historical achievements and doctrines and painting Sikh Society as a hotch-potch of low caste Hindus like the Jats, carpenters, Smiths, petty shopkeepers, Cobblers and distillers of wine. This false and utterly ridiculous assumption of moral superiority over all oriental religions runs through every page of works of Dr Hew McLeod and his Batala-Berkley Group.

ATTITUDE OF GENUINE ORIENTALISTS IN THE WEST

Edward Conze, a deep and authoritative writer on “*Buddhism*” writes: “It is often assumed that there is some fundamental and essential difference between East and West, between Europe and Asia, in their attitude to life, in their sense of values, and in the functioning of their souls. Christians who regard Buddhism as unsuitable for European conditions, forget the Asiatic origin of their own religion, and of all religions for that matter. A religion is an organization of spiritual aspirations which rejects the sensory world and negates the impulses which bind us to it. For 3000 years Asia alone has been creative of spiritual ideas and methods. The Europeans have in these matters borrowed from Asia, have adopted Asiatic ideas, and often coarsened them. One could not, I think, point to any spiritual creation which is not secondary, which does not have its ultimate impulse in the East. All European spirituality has had to be periodically renewed by an influx from the East, from the time of Pythagoras and Parmenides onward. Take away the oriental elements in Greek philosophy, take away Jesus Christ, Saint Paul,

Dionysius Areopagita and Arabic thought - and European spiritual thinking during the last 2000 years becomes un-thinkable. 12

Max Muller, who has devoted a life time to a sincere study of Oriental religious classics said, "I hold that there is a divine element in every one of the great religions of the world. I consider it blasphemous to call them the work of the devil, when they are the work of God, and I hold that there is nowhere any belief in God except as the result of a divine revelation, the effect of a divine Spirit working in man. I could not call myself a Christian if I were to believe otherwise; if I were to force myself against all my deepest instincts to believe that the prayers of Christians were the only prayers that God could understand. All religions are mere stammerings, our own as much as that of the Brahmins. They all have to be translated; and I have no doubt that they all will be translated whatever their shortcomings may be."¹³

Dr Radhakrishnan has rightly stated: "It is no use studying the world's religions as archaeologists do the ruins of a vanished past, preserved in a museum of antiquities. For, they represent the aspirations of the human mind after a life which is not of this world, aspirations which are not mere dreams but the most powerful realities in men's lives. If then there are striking resemblances among the different religions, they may be due to their common origin, or to the fact that when faced by the same phenomenon human intelligence drew similar inferences, and led by common instincts built up similar cults."¹⁴

Throwing all sanity, humanity and wisdom associated with such an approach to the wind, Dr Hew McLeod and his Batala-Berkley group, now active in Toronto, has once more attempted to estrange healthy co-operation and understanding that has hitherto existed in all forums and academic circles in India, U.K. and U.S.A. amongst Christian and Sikh religious thinkers. They have once more encouraged and provoked bitterness, prejudice, acrimonious debates, religious arrogance and all the stupidity

associated with such attacks on a religion not their own and the counter-attacks by various organizations of the Sikhs in D.S.A. and Canada.

The subject of the study of this book is to analyse threadbare the damage Dr Hew McLeod has tried to do to Sikh religion, history and culture, and the damage he has done to himself and Christian missionaries who think, act and write like him without caring to study any authentic work on Sikh religion and history.

An eminent scholar has said, "The English speaking Orientalists are distinguished by erudition, but if one penetrates beneath the apparatus of the learned footnotes and the array of sources, one is bound to detect an alarm-ing degree of speculation, guess work and passing of judge-ment for which little or no concrete evidence is produced. It is of course one thing to be skilful in deciphering documents in Arabic or any other Oriental language, and quite another to be able to integrate the material culled there-from into a historical contributions in the accepted pro-fessional sense. History in general is one of the most vul-nerable of disciplines to the invasion of people from out-side, if it is often assumed that anyone who wields a pen can write history."

Out of the two types of Christian scholars of Oriental religions there is a group who have made such deep au-thentic study of Oriental faiths, that their expositions are accepted by all the votaries of these faiths as authentic. Some of the studies are so profound that even the orthodox, scholars and seers of these faiths say that they could not have done better. In the study of Islam we have Gibbs, Raynold Nicholson, Arberry, Annemarie Schimmel, Brown, Goldziher, Martin Lings, Louis Massignon and others. In Buddhism, we have such outstanding scholars as EJ. Thomas, David Neel, Evans Wentz, Edward Conze, and others.

Scores of scholars from Max Muller, Keith, to Mircea Eliade have made an indepth study of Hinduism and various aspects of Yoga and other systems. While serious study of Sikhism is sadly lacking in our own universities in India

and also Foundations instituted in the name of Guru Nanak, and Guru Gobind Singh, there is a growing inter-est in Sikhism in U.K. where we have excellent works by Dr W. Owen Cole and by the eminent linguist Dr Christo-pher Shackle, some of whose essays on the language of *Adi Granth* surpass anything produced by our universities here. In U.S.A., authentic literature is not so easily avail-able as it is in U.K., to scholars interested in Sikhism but the interest in Sikh religion in various universities where I lectured *or* visited was deep and profound. American scholars working in Departments of Philosophy and Com-parative Study of Religions are keenly interested in Ethi-cal and Mystical Doctrines of Sikhism while those working in the Departments of History and political Science are interested in the history of political and cultural move-ments in Sikh history. When they come to India they get little co-operation from Sikh Institutions controlled by either illiterate Jathedars or selfish and idle rich business- men and worthless retired government servants for whom controlling the Executive Boards of these institutions is a mark of their own importance in the eyes of Rulers, serv-ing whose interest is their main task. There has been no creative work worth the name for the last two decades in these institutions. Entry of foreigners in Punjab was banned since 1984 and that has cut off Punjab from the Enlightened section of the Western world for nearly a whole decade. The Golden Temple, the hub of religious and cultural activities is still under the shadow of guns of Delhi Rulers.

DR HEW MCLEOD'S CLAP-TRAP ANALYSIS AND HOSTILE
CRITICISM *OF* AUTHENTIC HISTORY AND DOCTRINAL
TRUTHS *OF* SIKH RELIGION AND CULTURE

I have known Dr Hew McLeod personally since 1965. We met at historical Conferences and Seminars. Personally he is a soft-spoken and quite courteous gentleman. He was kind enough to see the proofs of my 500 page Biography of Guru Nanak (first six chapters) based entirely

on oldest *Janamsakhis*, manuscripts and many new original sources and study of local records of places visited by Guru Nanak, His first book appeared two years later in 1968. Almost every chapter Dr McLeod's book was criticized by Sikh and non-Sikh scholars, but he has remained apathetic and unmoved. He did not care to answer any criticism, which we will quote in relevant chapters. As his first book was a mere Ph. D. thesis I refrained from criticizing. I thought deeper study of Sikhism will bring some healthy changes in his attitude and thoughts. But this did not happen.

Eight years after this, when I was on three years tour of U.K. and U.S.A., Dr Hew McLeod published his "*Evolution of the Sikh Community*" (104 pages). The first to criticize it was the late Dr Fauja Singh, Head of the History Department, Punjabi University, who died a premature death. Besides other things, Dr Fauja Singh took strong objection to the very title of the book, particularly the word "*Sikh Community*" and he calls the title misleading. Dr Fauja Singh further states: (1) Dr McLeod's view that Guru Nanak had only religious and no social concern is difficult to accept in its entirety. (2) that Guru Amar Dass - deviated from the teachings of Guru Nanak is unacceptable, (3) Dr Fauja Singh himself a Jat, rejects that the predominance of Jat culture compelled Guru Hargobind to become militant. The seeds of a militant response to the challenges were inherent in the system of Guru Nanak, (4) He criticizes Dr McLeod's opinion that Guru Gobind Singh did not abolish the personal line of the Gurus. It is a subsequent theory that has emerged out of Jat culture. McLeod ignores all contemporary and near Contemporary historical records, (5) Dr Fauja Singh further points out that "*Dasm Granth*", though of such high importance, has been disposed in a page and a half by McLeod. As his overall assessment of the work McLeod says that "as expression of the Shivalik impact upon the Jat culture of the Punjab plains, the *Dasm Granth* is a historical source of critical importance for any analysis."

(6) Dr Fauja Singh concludes, that Dr McLeod's essays are mostly based on conjecturing and some of them may not even serve as good hypothesis. There is substantial ground to regard them as illfounded and known historical evidence contradicts them.¹⁵

As all his elementary theories about *janamsakhis* published in his first book stood refuted and rejected by Sikh scholars, Dr McLeod tried to present expanded versions of his theories by giving impressive charts and tables, in his *Early Sikh Tradition: A Study of janamsakhis* (1980). He ignored many authentic and older *janamsakhis* and did not even care to see very old MSS lying with the historian Baba Prem Singh Hoti Mardan's family and the Bagrian family. We are devoting a whole chapter to *janamsakhis*. Then suddenly he published two books: '*The Sikhs*' and '*Who is a Sikh?*' The themes are repeated. The arguments are repeated. More often than not, Dr Hew McLeod quotes his own previous books. He avoids quoting Sikh scriptures, canonized works of Bhai Gurdas and Bhai Nand Lall, except in one or two places where he presents a distorted translation in order to hurt and damage the image of the Sikh Gurus. As these books were not easily available in India I read them only recently. A storm has broken in the West against their contents. On the other hand Hew McLeod's handful of colleagues and one or two students are propagating his theories as the communists propagate their highly outdated repulsive theories by holding seminars in their own circles. On the other hand, Sikhs of all shades, established scholars, intellectuals and semi-intellectuals have raised their voice exactly as they did against Dr Ernest Trumpp. After years of silence I have decided to give a comprehensive answer to all the clap-trap methods and theories of Dr McLeod on Sikh religion and history based on scepticism and conjecture. The truth about Sikh historical development and Sikh doctrines is concealed only from the eyes of the ignorant or those serious students of religion who do not have access either to original sources or authentic

published works in English which though out of print are available in U.K. libraries easily but not in U.S.A.

Dr Hew McLeod's arguments in support of his fan-tastic and demeaning theories are loaded with the soph-istry of solecism. He says one thing in a part and then contradicts it on the same page qualifying his self-contradiction with "possibly, probably". Through this method of a chain of assaults, he spreads a net work of conjectural theories based on false premises leading to what Shakespeare might call, "*lame and impotent conclusions*" based on "*a network of empty words*". Like all hostile critics who pretend to be serious scholars of a subject, he is expert in the art of subterfuge and evasion. Anyone who approaches the study of Sikh religion with pre-con-ception and an ingrained religious or ideological bias, and analyses it with just a pedestrian knowledge of the lan-guages of the scriptures and historical literature, commits the same type of blunder which Dr Ernest Trumpp com-mitted in the last three decades of nineteenth century and Dr Hew McLeod has committed in the last three decades of the twentieth century.

Both Trumpp and McLeod start spilling their cynical and contemptuous remarks about Sikh prophets, their doctrines and scriptures from the very Prefaces of their books and continue to do so to the conclusions. Their Prefaces and conclusions alone reveal their nefarious designs behind what they call scientific and rational study of Sikhism. This 'is 'the reason why they have been bracketed together. "

Dr Hew McLeod's chief claim to speak is his erudite ignorance, assumed or real. He relentlessly assails the moral and spiritual status and achievements of the Sikh Gurus. He ignores all the sublime philosophical and mystical doctrines of Sikh ism and picks some street gossip as basis of his theories and false constructions. He leaves no stone unturned to distort and create confusion about distinctive religious ideals of Sikhism. His crude attacks on Sikh history, and doctrines are always based on

preconceived perverted notions of Sikhism as a sect of Hindu-ism, which are refuted time and again by Sikh and non-Sikh knowledgeable scholars which he cynically ignores as if they did not exist. We will give some examples during the course of our study.

Neither Christian missionary scholars like Trumpp in the last century nor Hew McLeod and his Group in this century have been able to prove the inferiority of Sikhism by their arrogant and contemptuous remarks and attitudes, nor have they succeeded in their attempt to indicate that Sikhism must humiliate itself before the artificial glamour of such Christian thinkers who stoop to debase a religion, other than their own, by insulting and belittling it.

The deeper and fraternal spirit of Sikhism is very close and intimate in its interfaith relations with the spiritual and moral currents of Christianity. To this I have been an eye witness throughout my personal contacts with many eminent Christian thinkers in Europe, U.S.A. and U.K. and associations with International Inter-religious organizations.

Sikhs have set a unique example in history by strongly resisting any attempts by outsiders to insult, humiliate and denigrate Sikhs and Sikhism without impairing their relations with the enlightened and liberal leaders of the religion to which these hostile critics belong. In the seventeenth and eighteenth century when the Sikhs suffered endlessly at the hands of some Muslim and Hindu fanatics associated with the Ruling class, their relations with the Muslim and Hindu saints and liberal leaders and masses were at their very best. They were given the same respect and affection which they gave to their own saints and leaders. In the early eighteenth century when six *Misals* attacked the Kasur stronghold of the Afghans to rescue innocent girls abducted by them, they lost ten thousand lives. On the way back they stopped near the *Khanqah* of a Muslim saint, whose disciples were alarmed and even advised the Sufi saint to escape to some Muslim territory. Minutes later, all the Sikh leaders took off their shoes,

entered the *Khanqah* one by one, prostrated before the Muslim saint, each making some offering and seeking his blessings and peace. The saint and his disciples were over-whelmed. "O Great Dervish, if there is any danger to you from any side, we will lay down our lives to give you protection and please inform the Muslims of this region, that those who are not helping the tyranny of the Mghan and Mughal invaders are our brothers and sisters. It is our duty to help them and serve them and protect them."

But the Batala-Berkley Group of Christian missionaries now active in Toronto have by their false utterances and misconstructions tried to prove that Guru Nanak was not a Founder of a religion or Prophet but a wandering Hindu medieval *sant* (saint) whose mission was peaceful revival of Hinduism, but whose erratic successors started using the sword and putting on long hair, to win over Jat followers who wore long hair and believed in the cult of the sword. Hindu customs were introduced by Guru Nanak's successor to prevent it from fading away into extinction. The superficial identity they have maintained is a Jat-culture heritage. The irrational monstrosity of these absurdities that have been presented as Sikh religion and history is visible to all who know something about Sikh religion and history. Strip the writings of Dr Hew McLeod and his Group of their journalistic rhetoric, of their tricks of qualifying irrefutable and authenticated facts with "probably, possibly", and other sceptic suggestions, you find in them nothing but naked antagonism and open malicious hostility. His denials of historical truths without refuting the factual historical evidence are unequalled in their capacity for affirming false facts, distorted ideas based on Conjectured and irresponsible utterances. When he quotes Sikh scriptures he puts even the Devil to shame, because even when a Devil quotes scriptures, he is correct in quoting and translating. He only gives his own interpretation with the freedom of thought, permitted even to him by God Almighty. Thus, Dr Hew McLeod displays a melancholy proclivity towards whatever appears to him ugly

and unwholesome to his particular tastes in Sikhism. And when he cannot find anything, he uses his conjectural designs and art of false constructions to cook something which is not found either in Sikh history or doctrines.

After Emergency was clamped in India in 1975, the then communist Education Minister in Mrs. Indira Gandhi's Cabinet saw to it that materialists, hedonists, Marxists and atheists wearing beards and turbans were posted as Vice-Chancellors and key figures in Sikh Studies Departments in the Universities. Some of them put on turban and beard just to capture these posts. Earlier they were clean shaven and even chain smokers. These were backed and supported by pious looking third rate hack-writers on Sikh themes, who as self-seeking sycophants served as the most servile flatterers and submissive ma-nipulators of anti-Sikh designs of the government which led to utter intellectual chaos in the Universities of Punjab and total moral as well as political degradation, giving rise to a situation amenable for Bluestar operation military attack on the Golden Temple and its aftermath. The atmosphere became congenial for such work as Dr Hew McLeod has been producing. The situation has been deteriorating ever since then.

Mr. Justice Gurdev Singh, who was the first to note these destructive trends initiated by Hew McLeod and his like-minded friends occupying prestigious chairs says: "He (McLeod) has been emboldened by the fact that in our universities even the scholars who are working in the Department of Sikh Studies have not cared to rebut or even examine his thesis and place before the people the correct picture and real facts. This neglect has already resulted in considerable harm as even uncommitted scholars and researchers, without proper examination of the issues involved, are prone to accept the word of McLeod, in the absence of any challenge by the Sikhs themselves or availability of the other point of view."¹⁶

Sikh Studies Department of Punjabi University under the able Chairmanship of the distinguished scholars

Professor KL. Seshagiri Rao and his learned colleagues like Dr L.M. Joshi was humming with enlightened and authentic research activities in 1970. The International Sikh Seminar organised by them in 1970 was one of the most successful efforts to highlight Sikhism for which the credit goes to Professor KL. Seshagiri Rao and Vice-Chancellor Prof. Kirpal Singh, a learned historian. There was some severe criticism of Hew McLeod's book in this Seminar by Bhai Jodh Singh, first Vice-Chancellor of the University, who is thanked by McLeod in the Preface for helping him. McLeod's criticism became irrelevant because he had not been invited to the Seminar and he had not submitted any paper.

Hew McLeod pinpoints his criticism on *Janamsakhis*, hagiographic biographies, of Guru Nanak which were never considered "*sacred cows*" in Sikh history. He picks up passages from some other corrupted *Janamsiikhis* in the eighteenth century records, and he never hesitates to introduce utterly vulgar street gossip and cheap jokes which are not found even in corrupted historical documents of eighteenth century.

Dr Noel Q. King, Professor of Religion, University of California, Santa Cruz (U.S.A.), calls these "Sardarji" jokes and adds that "this genus of story invented by people wishing to show Sikhs are stupid or obstinate as their own water-buffaloes." 17

Dr Hew McLeod knows some Punjabi, but as he wrote to me just sufficient to read simple prose like that of *janamsakhis*, *Sakhi Pothis* and *Rehitnamas*, which can be understood even by Punjabi housewives with elementary knowledge of Punjabi. For studying Sikh Scriptures like *Adi Granth*, *Dasm Granth*, *Vars* and *Kabits* of Bhai Gurdas and the Persian works of Bhai Nand Lall, one requires a good working knowledge of *Sanskrit*, *Prakrit*, *Apabhramsa*, *Braj*, *Avdhi* and other medieval languages and dialects, besides, of course, the various dialects of Punjabi. This is the equipment which Ernest Trumpp lacked and this is what Hew McLeod lacks and tempts him to lean heavily

on conjectures and street-gossip. Dr Noel Q. Kings pin-points this short-coming when he says, “Even when Punjabi had been mastered, it did not mean a scholar could be confident that he or she understood the varied languages and dialects used in the scriptures and related literature. Again till recently efficient instruments for the study of Punjabi were not available abroad. The study of Sikhism demanded years of residence. While pointing out the difficulties, it is important to emphasize that Sikhism is one of the most open religions in the world. Outsiders who conform to a few reasonable requirements of good taste and custom are made welcome, everything is put before them without reserve.”¹⁸

I have been personally intimately in touch with all the Sikh saints, scholars, theologians, and Punjabi writers (religious, socialists, communists) living during the years 1944 to 1992. Apart from their political views which ranged from conservative ideas to radical and revolutionary think-ing, the Sikh saints and scholars were, so far as religious studies were concerned, very liberal and open-minded. They expressed their views in the humblest manner. Even when affluent living was open to them, they led a very simple life of saints and enlightened scholars, committed to the highest ideals of Sikhism in thoughts, words and deeds.

Bigotry and fanaticism was introduced first in Punjabi literature by Marxists and Communist-party intellectuals. With the support of British Govt. in World War II they had become aggressively overweening and intolerant of everything religious, sensible and enlightened in literature. As two-thirds of Punjabi literature is *Gurmat literature* and *Sufi literature* these Marxist and atheists who behaved like adopted sons of Stalin were poised to pull Sikh religion to the ground. When I wrote about 19 articles in 1946 in the only Punjabi Daily *Akali Patrika* they sued for peace personally asking me not to carry the campaign further. Most of the anti-Sikh intellectuals recruited by our Universities either belong to the category of ex-

treme loyalists or extreme Marxists on one side and Hindu fundamentalists on the other - who have as yet not entered the Punjabi literary field. There is no such thing as Dogmatic theology in Sikhism and whenever a fanatic group raises its head in Punjab the open-minded liberal saints and scholars put it down. Dr Noel Q. King asks a pertinent question: "It is still a puzzle why so few foreign scholars have devoted themselves to a study of Sikhism?" I will answer this question in the last Chapter of this book. Briefly stated, our religious leadership which controls religious and cultural institutions are not religious in any sense of the word. They are worst than the medieval Ab-bots of Europe who created a revolutionary situation like that of French Revolution. As politicians some of whom are excommunist card holders; both the illiterate and the rich buy prestige and popularity. They are the greatest enemies of intellectual activities who even obstruct publication of good Sikh religious literature.

Unfortunately Dr Hew McLeod is neither honest nor rational, nor reasonable and logical in his analysis of his-torical events, nor does he anywhere, in any of his books follow the minimum rules of academic ethics. He dismisses proven historical facts without refuting them. He com-pletely ignores the well-known facts and events and achieve-ments of the Sikhs in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Persian, Punjabi, Marathi and English docu-ments and goes to some later *Janamsiikhi manuscripts* of which we have over sixty different versions in our libraries. These are being analysed and published by young scholars. Some quite old manuscripts have already been published and they are conveniently ignored by Dr Hew McLeod. He looks for eighteenth century history not in piles of historical records available in many prestigious libraries and archives but in crude and colourfully designed *Janamsakhis* which is like preparing a conjectural Biography of Queen Victoria and political and cultural history of Victorian period from a seventeenth century manuscript of Chaucer's "Canterbury Tales". This is ex-

actly what he does in every book. Even the common readers see through his game and is disgusted with this game. He calls *Janamsakhi*, sacred scriptures. They are neither sacred, nor have they any place in scriptures. They are hagiographic documents, which have never been totally accepted by any scholar in the last four centuries.

Ninety-nine per cent of the Sikhs never read *Janamsakhis* because the most authentic material has been incorporated in early and present day Biographies of Guru Nanak. Professor Noel Q. King rightly comments: "Whatever Dr McLeod intended, many readers will ask his books the wrong questions and get the wrong answers. The books to an uninitiated reader seems to reiterate the notion that a great amount of such belief appears to be based on uncritical religiosity. The reader seeking the well-springs of what Sikhism will not be assisted. Nowhere in these books is there an attempt to tell what it is. The reader wishing to know about the heart of Sikhism will turn to these books and be offered a meticulously and exhaustively carried out drills in certain methods of Western criticism. Such reader's desires and the purpose of the book differs. The reader will hardly be able to understand the true import of what is being said unless he or she possesses a background knowledge of the history of criticism."¹⁹

In England all old and new publications on Sikhism printed in England or India are available in British Museum Library and other well maintained libraries. It is but natural that British or American scholars who do not go very deep into Sikh studies, have failed to study some of the most remarkable books on Sikhism by Puran Singh in the late twenties; and such books as *Plato and the True Enlightener of the Soul* (of Lugac and Co., 1912): a very scholarly comparative study between Platonism and Sikhism by Dharam Anant Singh who studied Greek philosophy in. Original Greek.⁵ Prof. Puran Singh's works have been partly published by Punjabi University. It is Professor Puran Singh who made Whitman as popular in Punjabi

literature as he is in American literature. In his book “*Wait Whitman and the Sikh Inspiration*” he identifies the spiritual aestheticism of Wait Whitman with that of Guru Nanak-Guru Gobind Singh and admires, their attitude of :wonder, reverence, acceptance and love”, which keeps the eternal Light burning in the temple of their hearts.

“The poverty of American scholarship on Sikhism”, says Professor James R. Lewis, “is a self-perpetuating situation that prevents an American school of studies from emerging. For example, to speak from personal experience early in my graduate work, I was discouraged from focusing on Sikh tradition because, it was said, such a speciality would limit my employment prospects. As a consequences, I set aside my original interest for a different speciality and have only sporadically been able to put my energies into Sikhism.”²⁰

I believe that Sikhs in America, who even though highly educated in many professions, have failed to train their younger generation for religious and historical studies. If they could spend half the money they waste in stuffing their stomachs with all brands of wine, chicken and turkey they could provide all the good books necessary for enlightening American scholars of religion and even provide them facilities to visit libraries in India. On the other hand, American youth and even professors in some Universities, as I noted during my sojourn in USA. are interested more in cult-religious leaders (most of them first-rate hypocrites) who offer them fake spiritual exercises and meditations to enable (hem to be transported into the highest heaven within a week or at the most a month. I have not seen blind-faith working so effectively anywhere else as it has been in the cult-ash rams and in University campuses in U.S.A. Serious interest in religion IS confined to a few scholars.

In this book I have devoted twelve chapters to the critical analysis and false construction of Sikh history and scriptures in Dr Hew McLeod’s books. In each chapter I have given authentic factual background of the themes

on which Hew McLeod comments and then given analysis of his statements which are not supported by any document or scripture. It is now for the genuine seekers of truth to know and judge. If I am wrong in giving any exposition about the Truth of Sikh history and Scriptures, I stand corrected. Corrective criticism is welcome and suggestions will be incorporated in the next edition of this book. No one knows better than Dr Hew McLeod that there has never been even a trace of ill-will between us. Nor do I hope this criticism of his irresponsible and irrelevant comments of my religion to the study of which I have devoted a whole life time create any ill-will between us in the future. Dr Hew McLeod always asserts in his books that the opinions expressed in them are his own; but the opinions expressed in this book are of all Sikh and non-Sikh scholars who have studied Sikhism deeply. I do not claim them to be my opinions alone.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. George Forster, *A journey From Bengal to England*, Letter XI. London, 1798, pp. 253-95.
2. My father, S. Dhanna Singh was posted as Train Examiner and then as Loco Foreman in Maymyo, the Summer Capital in the Shan Hill States of Burma many years before my birth. He was fond of meeting and serving with food, clothing and money, lamas, hermits, yogis and wandering sadhus who were attracted to this hill station for its spring season all the year round, and its beautiful waterfalls and lakes. My father met Sadhu Sunder Singh when he came to deliver sermons near the market-place under a huge tree. He described Sadhu Sunder Singh as an inspired saint, aflame with the mystic fervour of his love and devotion to Christ. He described him as Christian by faith but Sikh in his cultural habits and temperament who did not care much for official Christian Churches and Missions. There were American Baptist and Catholic Churches not far away from our bungalow. When I asked father "How did the Saint differ from the Missionary Fathers whom we all knew?" He said: "These missionaries cannot produce saints. They are like our own Granthis and Priests. They never go deep into religion. We have good many Saints in Punjab who are spiritually great men. Father had great respect for Tibetan Lamas and Buddhist monks who spent all their lives in studies, and meditation in monasteries.

3. He (Michael Madhusudan Dutta) was nothing of a Bengali scholar"; said Rabindranath once, when we were discussing the *Meghnadbadh*, he just got a dictionary and looked out all high sounding words. He had great power over words. But his style has not been repeated. It is not Bengali." Edward Thompson: *Rabindranath Tagore: Poet and Dramatist*, p. 15.
4. *ibid.*, p. 10.
5. It was in 1954 when I delivered my first lecture in Brahma Samaj Hall, Calcutta, the President was kind enough to present to me the works of Keshav Chander Sen, the best Brahma Samaj Scholar and orator of the time and Brahma Prayer book in which selections from *Guru Granth* probably translated by Rabindranath Tagore's father are given. The translation of *Adi Granth* selections is far better than many produced during our own time.
6. Murray T. Titus, *Indian Islam*, O.U.P., 1930, p. 225.
7. Professor A.J. Toynbee, *The Value of Oriental History for Historians*, *Journal of the Punjab University Historical Society*, Lahore Dec. 1960, Vol. XII, p. 17.
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11. Mark Juergensmeyer, *The Forgotten Tradition*, Sikhism in the Study of World Religions, Paper in "Sikh Studies". Berkeley Religious Studies 1979.
12. Edward Conze, *Buddhism: Its Essence and Development*, Harper, New York, p. 11, 12.
13. *The Life and Letters of Frederick Max Muller*, Vol. II, p. 464.
14. S. Radhakrishnan, *East and West in Religion*, p. 33.
15. Or Fauja Singh's Review on "*The Evolution of the Sikh Community* by W.H. McLeod published in *The Punjab Past and Present*, Vol. XI, Pt I, April, 1977, p. 178.
16. Gurdev Singh : Imprimis in *Perspective on the Sikh Tradition*, p. 10.
17. Noel Q. King, *Orientalism, Critical Scholarship and the Sikh Religion*, Essay contributed to "Perspective on Sikh Tradition", Ed. Gurdev Singh, p. 51.
18. *ibid.*, p. 47.
19. *ibid.*, p. 50.
20. James R. Lewis, *Misrepresentation of the Sikh Tradition in World Religious Textbooks*, Essay in "Advanced Studies in Sikhism"; edited by Jasbir Singh Mann and Harbans Singh Saraon.

CHAPTER 4

GURU NANAK: PROPHET AND FOUNDER OF
SIKHISM AND NOT A HINDU SANT

The term 'Prophet' is not a Semetic but a Greek word which explains the charisma and personality of an inspired religious genius who is completely absorbed in the Eter-nal Spirit which controls it. His personality is filled with Light and Spirit of God to such an extent that he is never separated from Him even for a moment in mind and Spirit. The Light of God infused in him replaces his personal individuality in order to speak through him completely unhindered. He is imbued with a powerful consciousness of his destiny and mission. A prophet is a saint and holy man, but no saint or holy man however perfect is accepted as a prophet. The spiritual status, the mystical vision and the divine authority of a prophet is much higher than that of a saint or a seer or a religious reformer.

Dr Hew McLeod and his Batala-Berkley Group of hostile critics of Sikh history, religion and culture repeatedly assert that Guru Nanak was not a prophet who founded a new religion, Sikhism, but only a wandering Hindu Sant of "*Nirgun School of Poetry of North India*". They neither define the word prophet, nor a *Sant*, but erroneously give the higher status to "*Sants*" than the Bhaktas. Through the type of linguistic despotism and anarchy which still prevails in the Hindi belt of India, they spin irrelevant theories and baseless conjectural analytical ideas in support of their pre-conceptions of Sikhism. The self-contradictions, the abuse of historical facts, and other misstatements are so glaring and shocking, that scholars who know about this period (eleventh to

sixteenth century), can easily see through the ugly game of Hew McLeod, and his Group of about half a dozen biased Christian missionaries, and become at once aware of their sinister design, to denigrate Guru Nanak and his successors. They paint Sikhism as a Hindu sect, politically noisy and morally and spiritually bankrupt. Those who do not have access to authentic sources and literature on Sikhism are either upset by the confusion he creates about the generally accepted impressions of Sikhs and Sikhism, or feel that there must be some hidden disgraceful things about Sikhs and their religion which the demeaning tactics of Dr Hew McLeod are slowly revealing to the world, through their knowledge of hitherto unknown sources.

To say that Guru Nanak was not a prophet and founder of a unique religion, "Sikhism", but was only a Hindu *Sant* of Hindu Nirgun *sampardaya* of North India, whose list and study they have never given in their works, is like saying that Christ was neither a prophet and founder of Christian religion nor a Saviour, but only an unordained adventurous Rabbi of Judaism, who started his own sect within Judaism but was disrespected and rejected by the Jews. It is like saying, Mohammed and Buddha were not prophets, but petty monks and saints who can be called reformers at their best. It is a fact that western readers and intellectuals (particularly Americans) are still quite ignorant about the history and doctrines of Sikhism for which Sikhs themselves are to be blamed considerably. But it does not mean that western scholars can be misled by such campaigning books and seminars which Hew McLeod and his American friends have been organizing. The negative elements of their hostile analysis is now clearly visible to the naked eye. Although Buddhism was state religion in many countries, little was known about Lord Buddha in the West before Edwin Arnold's "*Light of Asia*" was published. This little book inspired many scholars to devote their lives to Buddhist studies, and it is the western scholars who have produced excellent translations of original sources of Buddhism.¹ In spite of the

maligning campaigns of our present Delhi Rulers against Sikhs in every country abroad, genuine interest in Sikh studies is growing, and such hostile expositions of Sikh religion and history as presented by Dr Hew McLeod will die their natural death, much sooner than one may expect.

The eminent scholars of all founded religions like Christianity, Islam and Buddhism have defined what a Prophet is, and they have also defined what a saint is, in their faith, though known by different names. Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh were not only prophets by their own right, but they have both vividly portrayed, as perhaps no other prophet has given, Face to Face commun-ion and mystical dialogue with God in human language. While placing Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh in the long line of prophets, Guru Gobind Singh in his *Bachiter Natak* clearly states that God blessed all prophets as His Sons and Messengers. Guru Nanak, his successors and he himself were also sent as prophets of this Age with a distinct and clear message which the Guru has recorded in his Autobiography (*Bachiter Natak*).² Bhai Gurdas, the co-compiler of *Adi Granth* and Bhai Nand Lall the poet mystic who knew Guru Gobind Singh far more intimately than any other Sikh scholar, have firmly and repeatedly portrayed the position of Guru Nanak - Guru Gobind Singh as Prophets *par-excellence*.³ Except a few *janamsakhis* corrupted by *Minas* (Meharban and his sons), *Handaliyas* or those based on them, all other old *janamsiikhzs* uphold Guru Nanak's status and authority as an illumined *Prophet*. The word "Sant" or *Nirgun Sampardaya* does not even occur in these *janamsakhis* and early Sikh historical documents. We will now define the word *Prophet*, the Enlightened Messengers of God, and the various terms used for prophets in each higher religion. Perhaps the best definition of a Prophet and saint are given by Shabistari and Tarmidi:

The Prophet, resplendent in his perfection,
Is the Sun's bright Light;

And the saint, concealing his saintship
 Is as the subdued light of the Moon.
 By fellowship the saint
 Is intimate with the Prophet;
 And finding entrance to that secret chamber
 He loves and is beloved by the Truth.

Mahamud Shabistari: *The Secret Rose Garden*:

Tr: Florence Lederer, p. 54.

The steps of the Prophet end,
 Where those of the saint begin

Al. Hakim at Tarmidi

The word 'prophet' from linguistic point of view is taken from the Greek. Among the Egyptians and Jews the word prophet was invariably used for the priests. Even in some primitive societies a prophet is someone who is able, as a matter of course, to exert or pour out his *orenda* (the inner spiritual power) and thereby know the secrets of the future. We thus know legendary figures of pre-history like orpheus, and temple prophets and seers who appear in classical western poetry. In early history Zarathustra was the first to carry the message of the God, and speak of divine revelation recorded in his conversation with Ormezd himself in heaven where the Lord bestowed on him di-vine wisdom. Islam believes there have been 124000 prophets (*nabi*). Muhammed is regarded the final and ultimate prophet. The appearance of true prophets at intervals of centuries has given rise to so many false prophets in each age, that when a true prophet appears people do not easily recognize him, because he is generally hidden be-hind simplicity and humility. People took Christ and Guru Nanak to be mad men.

Joachim Wach clearly distinguishes between tradi-tional religions like Judaism and Hinduism and founded religions like Christianity, Islam, Buddhism and Sikhism. The origin of the traditional religions is not known. It grows out of men of great spiritual insight called *Rishis* in

India from the unknown past, and seers with great vision like Moses.

Mentioning the names of great prophets like Christ, Buddha, Muhammed, Mani, Confucius and Laotse, Joachim says, "Each one of these sacred names stands for a unique experience and has become an uninter-changeable symbol of human faith and hope; over and against all superficial equation and comparison this fundamental fact must be stressed. On the other hand, we have seen that there are striking parallels and similarities in the biographies of the great founders. The integrating power of the personality and of the message of the founders of religions is a fascinating topic for comparative sociological study."⁴ Joachim Wach brings out the following distinctive features of prophets:

1. "They were, each one in his own way, deeply concerned with following out an experience, which became decisive in their lives and which determined their own attitude towards *God*, towards the world and towards men."⁵

2. "The 'message' of the founder is essential in that it establishes a religious ideal and a scale of values derived from his basic experience. It creates, apart from the effect of his personal *Charisma*, an objective centre of crystallization for a variety of sociological developments."⁶

3. In analysing the various activities of the founders, we find in nearly every case preaching and teaching. To convey to others the message of salvation and perfection and lead them to the acceptance of the truth revealed to them in their basic experience are primary concerns of the founder. This activity may be implemented by a miraculous acts, such as healing, feeding, transforming matter etc. It is on this that tradition and hagiographical development rely, and on this basis that they expand. These acts are meant to illustrate the specific personal *Charisma* which designates the man of *God* as in unmistakable and uninterchangeable ways."⁷

4. "The awareness of his mission comes to the cho-

sen one upon the occasion of his “*Call*”. Characteristic of such a mission is the close association of the message With the personality of its promulgator and the permanent endowment with power. The idea of a mission implies consciousness of its mandatory character. *Jesus* was con-scious of being sent by the Father, Muhammed was the messenger of Allah, Zoroaster of *Ahura-Mazda* and Tao spoke through Laotse. Furthermore, there is a balance and an absence of extremity and excess in the attitude of these founders.”⁸

5. Following Max Weber, Joachim Wach raises the question ‘What, then, is the characteristic of a prophet?’ His answer is: “The prophetic *charisma* seems to be the chief religious gift. It implies immediate communion with the deity, the intensity of which is more characteristic than its continuance. The mandate which the prophet receives is essential; usually there is a distinct “*Call*”. The consciousness of being the organ, instrument or mouth-piece of the divine will is characteristic of the self-interpretation of the prophet.”⁹

6. It is characteristic of prophetic revelations that they are usually not induced by methodical or casual manipulation but arise spontaneously and are received passively. He is credited with the power of transcending the limitations of time and space. The prophet illumi-nates and interprets the past, and he also anticipates the future. The *kairos* (moment) is interpreted by the prophet in this dual light.”¹⁰

7. Since his inspiration means the revelation of hid-den truths, the prophet may also be regarded as one who “knows”. As one who possesses knowledge and information as to the most essential that man wants to know - the nature, will and manifestation of *God* - the prophet has feature in common with the teacher, philosopher, and theologian.”¹¹

8. “Helped by the deeper perception and surer anticipation of the future, the prophet views the things of the world in the light of its destiny.”¹²

9. The prophetic *charisma* frequently leads to clashes with the powers that be in existing religious institutions. But the authority of a prophet may also help to reintegrate individuals or groups into the religious community and restore the lost balance in social and political life, between ruler and subject and between subject and subject.”¹³

10. “On the other hand, the emergence of new prophetic *charisma* will evoke the opposition of those who either reject the prophetic principle or oppose the claims of some individual prophet.”¹⁴

REFORMER, SEERS AND SAINTS

Outsiders who do not understand a religion, or who do not wish to understand a religion, but out of unconcealed motives deliberately spin theories to denigrate the prophet of a religion as Dr Hew McLeod treats Sikhism at every level and in all his writings, the temptation is to call the prophet and founder of religion by such appellations as Reformer, Seer, or Saint. As we have clearly defined the world ‘Prophet’ let us also study the definitions of terms reformer, seer and saint.

Joachim Wach, speaking of the varying *Charisma* of Reformers, says, “They are not on one level with the Founders; their creative religious power does not match that of the originator of a great faith. They somewhat resemble the founders in the power and possibility even in the magnetism of their personality, in their energy and endurance; but the sociological effect of their activity can-not be compared to that resulting in the emergence of the great faiths. Reformers differ from prophets psycho-logically, sociologically and theologically.”¹⁵ Reformers have excellent virtues of the head and heart; they are good organizers and have drive and persuasiveness. Sikhism is proud of its many great reformers, scholars, saints and political revolutionaries.

The seer is generally a precursor of the prophets. The great *Rishis* of Indian history were seers. They were

held in great reverence and were known for their intuition but they are less creative in religious experience than a prophet. The seer renews and revives and re-illuminates the present in the light of great founders or originators of divine experiences of the past.

A Saint is a godly, unselfish, charitable and compassionate person who is distinguished from the common priest and missionary by his piety, sincerity and holiness. Every religion has its holymen and saints. The words *Sant*, *prabhu*, *Mahaprabhu*, *Acharya*, *Aulya*, *Dervish* are used for saints in different religious traditions and each religion defines its saints in its own tradition about veneration of saints.

“In distinction from other types of religious authority”, says Joachim Wach, “the saint’s prestige depends not so much on achievement as upon his personal nature and character. As he is not especially bound by professionalities, he does not necessarily excel in intellectual or in practical talents. His guidance - and it is characteristic of the saint to guide and direct the lives of others - is eagerly sought, whereas the prophet, with whom the saint shares in exercising such influence, arouses the people by the vigorous impulse of his powerful preaching, the saint may exert his influence quietly but constantly and intensively.”¹⁶

GURU NANAK: A PROPHET PAR-EXCELLENCE

Guru Nanak felt from childhood, that he was living in a region where two great traditions of world religions -the Semetic (Judaic, Christian-Islamic) and Vedic Hindu -Buddhist, had mingled with each other. Like the mutually opposing torrents of the sea coming from the opposite direction they had clashed and yet mingled and were living together under tensions and aggressive compulsions. Guru Nanak spoke to this human world from an eminence and from divine conviction. He gave articulate utterances to the needs and aspirations which had been slowly growing in the turmoil and upheaval of social,

cultural and political conflicts, confrontations and compromises. He gave, as we find in his authenticated works, fresh cosmic speculations, established a new social order, presented a liberal universal mystical theology and a philosophic outlook of his faith based on his inner revelation. Grieved by the practice of idolatory, primitive untenable practices of worship, hypocrisy, slavish mortality, Guru Nanak said:

The Hindus are fundamentally in error;
 Having missed the right path, they wander in darkness;
 Narada led them to the worship of idols and images;
 Thus, they have become spiritually blind and deaf;
 In blind idolatrous worship, they live in utter darkness;
 These uncultured fools worship stone-gods
 The stone-god easily sinks in a stream,
 How can it help you cross the Ocean of Life

Guru Nanak, *Var Bihagara*, p. 556.

Guru Nanak's own writings are revelations of inexhaustible light, power and illumined wisdom. His unfailing inspiration flowing in divinely inspired poetry, intuitive fore-vision, wonderful rhythm and expression, concerned itself not only with religious situation, but also the political upheavals and moral degradation, and slavish submission of the people to tyranny and bloodshed of despots and conquerors. When a simple and poor carpenter, Bhai Lallo asked him about what might happen in the face of the tragic situation in the country, Guru Nanak replied:

As the Word of God descendeth on me,
 So I make known, the Wisdom of divine justice, O Lallo
 With bridal procession of sins and crimes
 The invader shall hasten from Kabul
 To seize by force, as his bride,
 The wealth of Hindustan, O Lallo,
 Modesty and righteousness have both vanished;
 Falsehood, leading the chariot, holds the field, O Lallo
 Both the Qazi and the Brahman will be out of work;
 The devil shall read the marriage services.
 Muslim women reciting the Koran
 In their agony will cry on God, O Lallo;

Hindu women of high and low caste
 Will meet the same fate;
 Men will sing the songs of death and murder,
 And instead of anointing themselves with saffron,
 Will smear their hands with blood.
 This shall be a city of corpses,
 Nanak glorifies the Lord,
 And inspired by Him utters a prophetic truth.
 God, the Creator created men for a purpose;
 Sitting aloof He watcheth their deeds.
 Just and true is the Lord;
 Just and true is His Judgement
 Human bodies shall be cut to shreds like pieces of cloth,
 And let Hindustan remember what I say now.

Guru Nanak, *Adi Granth*, Tilang, p. 722.

This is the thundering voice of the Prophet of the age and not a wandering Hindu Sant belonging to any Hindu *sampardaya*. No historian worth the name should forget that all Hindu Sants, Yogis and monks had during this period either gone to their mountain retreats or were hiding and praying in distant ashrams and caves. The few who suffered at the hands of the Pathans and Mughals did not utter a word of protest against their cruelty and tyranny. Throughout those dark years as Hindustan went on steadily and with ever-increasing momentum towards the precipice and disaster, Guru Nanak continued to uphold the banner of Righteousness (*dharma*), Justice and Truth of God, and to stand as a rock of truth in the midst of the swirling tides of the world's irreligion and moral degradation. It is through such prophets as Guru Nanak, God acts in history to establish moral and spiritual truths. Every hymn, every verse of Guru Nanak establishes, his communion with God and his deep concern for humanity not only in India but all over the world. His footprints are still visible in Middle East, Sri Lanka and Tibet to every one except the intellectually blind and mentally hostile historians like Hew McLeod and his camp followers.

Bhai Gurdas was co-compiler of *Adi Granth* and a

contemporary of elder son of Guru Nanak, Sri Chand and many eminent disciples of the Founder of Sikhism, like Bhai Buddha. His works were blessed by Guru Arjan as key to *Adi Granth*. In his First Var, known as *janamsakht-di-Var*, Bhai Gurdas says:

1. Hearing the wailing cries of humanity,
God, the Supreme Giver of life and sustenance
Sent Guru Nanak to this world.
2. On the Path of Truth, he stressed humility
And initiated his disciples with *Charnamrit*
3. In this dark age of many faiths and creeds
He revealed that the Supreme Being, the Perfect Lord
Is One in the whole Universe
4. He revived all the four crippled feet
Of moral and spiritual life in this world
And blended all four castes
Into one enlightened Spirit of a "Sikh".
5. He proclaimed complete equality
Between the kings and the humblest poor
And taught reverence and humility
By asking people to touch the feet
Of the enlightened and wise.

Bhai Gurdas *Var I*, 23.

In another verse Bhai Gurdas says:

1. At first Baba Nanak acquired
God's grace and benediction.
He then performed *tapasya*
Living on wild herbs and fruit,
He sat in meditation on barren ground.
Through His grace, Nanak attained perfect communion
Baba Nanak, thus, ascended the realm of Truth
From God he acquired the treasure,
Of His Name and humility.
Baba Nanak, then cast his omniscient vision on the earth;
He saw the whole world burning in flames;

Without the Enlightener of Truth, darkness prevailed.
 In ignorance and sorrow the world wailed in pain,
 The cries of suffering humanity moved him deeply.

Bhai Gurdas, *Var I*, 24.

Bhai Nand Lall was the Persian poet-laureate of Guru Gobind Singh. Earlier he was Mir Munshi of Bahadur Shah, successor and eldest son of Aurangzeb. The works of Bhai Gurdas and Bhai Nand Lall are canonized scriptures and they are treated at par with the hymns of *Guru Granth* in the Sikh Temples.

Bhai Nand Lall says God has given the honoured position of *Murshid-ul-alam*: Spiritual Teacher of the world, *Rahmat-ul-muzabin*: Merciful even to the sinners. There is no other *Dervish* like him. He has vividly portrayed God's *Call to* Baba Nanak and recorded the dialogue between the Supreme Being and God, based possibly on the basis of some record or testimony available to him in Guru Gobind Singh's *darbar*. Bhai Nand Lall says:

Thus spoke God unto Guru Nanak:
 Thou, My Son, art the true Guru (the Enlightener);
 Go, reveal My Light to the world.
 Guru Nanak meekly replied:
 I am Thy slave, Thy humblest servant, Lord,
 I am the dust of Thy creatures.
 God repeated His blessings:
 "Thou art the Guru (the Enlightener) of all the worlds.
 I will abide in thee in full radiant glory;
 My Spirit is in thy soul and being;
 My Will is thy will;
 My Light is thy Wisdom.
 Thou knowest My Law and Justice,
 Go reveal the real Path to humanity;
 Be the singer of My love and power.
 I will be thy Helper in thy mission,
 I will be thy Friend and Companion ever,
 He who understands thy greatness, My Son,
 And learns from thee My glory and wisdom.
 Tell misguided humanity,
 Without My Light and Power,
 The whole world is not worth a grain.

By My Will, I give Light and Wisdom to men;
 By My Will, I leave them in darkness;
 Without true knowledge of My existence,
 Humanity wanders in darkness.
 Religious leaders and pundits
 Have become hypocrites and magicians
 They may, with limited powers - My gifts,
 Even kill the living,
 And bring the dead to life;
 They may make fire dance on water;
 These are all magical tricks,
 And fruitless feats of occult powers.
 Show mankind the way to Me: the Ultimate Reality.
 Teach the right meditation of Truth.
 Prevent them from going up the wrong path.
 Guide them to My Door, My Son.
 Dispel from their minds
 All thoughts of any other.
 Go, point out the right Path to men;
 Tell them not to go astray,
 And seek light where there is none.
 Teach them to contemplate Me, the Eternal Light.
 I will help all true seekers in their aspirations,
 I will bless all true seekers with Light and Wisdom.
 Guru Nanak humbly replied:
 "Am I, O Lord, equal to this great Mission?
 I am but Thy humble creature O Infinite One.
 Could I carry such Light and Inspiration
 As to change the outlook of the whole world?
 Great is Thy mission, Lord, so humble am I,
 I will not forget Thy Word even for a moment
 Be Thou my Guru and my Voice, Lord
 Be Thou my Power and Light, O Eternal Father.

Bhai Nand Lall, *Ganjnama, Saltnat-aval*

Bhai Nand Lall, who was born and brought up in Ghazni, had achieved enviable stature as a Persian poet and Arabic scholar which raised him to a high position in Mughal administration. Then, his search for truth and illumination tempted him to resign his post and spend the last twenty years of his life with Guru Gobind Singh. The first collection of verses which he offered to Guru Gobind Singh was given the title "*Bandgi Namah*" The

Psalms of Devotion and Worship. Guru Gobind Singh changed the title to *Zindgi Namah: The Psalms of Life*. The foregoing verses are quoted from his Prose and Poetical portraits of the Mystical Personality of the Gurus and their relation to God and the human world, entitled *Ganj Namah: Psalms of Hidden Spiritual Treasures*. The nearness and the love of Guru Gobind Singh he achieved is profound and sub-lime. In every verse he presents Guru Gobind Singh as the greatest Apostle of all times, the spiritual sovereign of both the worlds, the dust of whose feet is sought by all the avatars of Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva. All the Gurus who have committed their experiences to writing have commented on the historic and divine personality of Guru Nanak as the Supreme Prophet of Kali age. We will give a number of quotations in other chapters in various different contexts. Here we may just give one quotation from Guru Arjan, the compiler of *Adi Granth*:

balio chiragh aildhyaar mahi
sabh kali udharai ik nam *dharam*
pargat sagal hari bhavan mahi
jan nanak gur parbhrahm.

In the pitch moral darkness all round
There burns a blazing Lamp.
The whole dark age is spiritually illumined.
With the Religion of *Nam-dharma*:
Spiritual discipline of contemplating God's Name.
It is now known and revealed
In the whole world and universe:
Guru Nanak is the Embodiment
Of the Eternal Spirit of God.

*Adi Guru Granth, Guru Arjun,
Swaiyyai Sri Mukh Vak, 9*

A Saint according to Sikhism, Islam and Christianity is one who lives under the protection and benediction of a Prophet. He follows the Path of the prophet. He lives in "Imitation of the Prophet". Each religion has its saints. In Christianity 25000 saints have been canonized after death.

In Sikhism they have been recognized by their character, deeds and contribution in some field. Sikhism has produced very eminent saints and seers who were theologians, musicians, scholars, reformers and worked in various fields. Many Sikh saints suffered in British prisons; many were great interpreters of Sikh Scriptures. Sikhism has survived and has come out unscathed by stormy attacks on its very existence, and repeated onslaughts by those who vowed to annihilate them. But the Sikh saints who were found in the heart of society, in the centre of religious world and in the battlefield, saved the Sikh Panth from the wrath of Pundits, Mullas, Mughal and Mghan conquerors. The Light and Power of the Wisdom of the Sikh Prophets worked through these enlightened and gifted Sikhs during the last three centuries.

Dr Hew McLeod and his Batala-Berkley Christian missionary groups have repeatedly tried to denigrate the Sikh Prophets by calling them monotheistic Hindu Saints, and building utterly artificially constructed false structures and theories without showing even rudimentary academic respect for irrefutable historical facts, and by completely ignoring evidence provided by Sikh Scriptures. They have carried their campaign of misinformation and distortions of Sikh history into the territory of open lies, and lies whether recorded in history or politics have no legs. Cynical falsifications, maliciously distorted translations concocted to feed their prejudice - the well framed preju-dices of this group; about a religion they have not cared to study seriously, has helped them to build a campaign against Sikhs and Sikhism, through a few books and seminars controlled and stage managed by this group. But even scholarly false constructions and lies told about Sikh history and doctrines when dressed in academic robes cannot distort or falsify irrefutable truth. The truth about Sikh doctrines is like unfading and undying Light. No one who knows even the basic facts of Sikhism will ever give conscious support to such lies and misstatements as found in the writings of Dr Hew McLeod. Any knowledgeable

person who reads these books will know their gan-grenous boundaries built by these hostile groups led by Dr Hew McLeod and his companions.

In this chapter we have discussed the spiritual status of the Sikh Gurus as Prophets. In the next chapter of this book, we will discuss the distinct name, form doctrinal contents which the Sikh Guru gave Sikh philosophy, which cannot even be remotely identified with any Sant cult or Sant movement, though they share the highest ethical and spiritual experiences with enlightened Bhaktas and Sufis. In chapter 6 we will discuss the much trumpeted *Nirgun Sant Sampardaya* as presented by Dr Hew McLeod which became subject of a few thesis in Hindi literature in the thirties. It has never had any existence outside the provin-cial Hindi literature, and all the imaginary superstructures built by Dr Hew McLeod and scholars like Dr P.D. Barthwal, on whose Ph.D. thesis published in Banaras in 1936, all these theories are built, will be examined in detail. These scholars have just tried to put a huge square peg in a round hole where it can never fit in. It is clear from the writings of scholars like Dr Barthwal that they did not care to go through the works of Guru Nanak, the *Guru Granth* or the works of Guru Gobind Singh even once.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. Eminent westerners who have made significant contribution to Buddhism are: Barnett, S.A. Beal, Geiger, S. Hardy, Oldenberg, Rhys Davids, E.J. Thomas and Edward Conze.
2. *Bachiter Natak* is the name of monumental book in *Dasm Granth* (collected works of Guru Gobind Singh) which consists of an Introduction in Praise of God(*Kal ji ki Ustat*), Guru Gobind Singh's Autobiography (*Apani Katha*) upto 1694 (thirteen chap-ters) and the other three parts are historical version of the Avatars of Vishnu, Brahma and Shiva. I have completed the translation with detailed commentary of the Introduction and the Autobiog-raphy giving the background and interepretation of each verse.
3. Bhai Gurdas has writtem 40 Vars (Cantos) each consisting of verses ranging from 20 to 48 in Punjabi of beautiful literary style and over 650 Quartrains written in Sanskritized Braj during his stay in Banaras. I have undertaken the translation

of the complete works in seven or eight volumes. Out of these two volumes are complete. Bhai Nand Lall has written nine works in Persian out of which *Diwan-i-Gaya* and *Zindgi Namah* have been translated by the au-thor. Two *Rehitnamas* of Bhai Nand Lall have been published in my book “*Turban and the Sword of the Sikhs*” in London and its enlarged edition is also going to the press. The third *Rehitnarna* is rejected by scholars as spurious and it is not the work of Bhai Nand Lall.

4. Joachim Wach, *Sociology of Religion*, Kegan Paul, London, p. 348
5. *ibid.*, p. 348.
6. *ibid.*, p. 349.
7. *ibid.*, p. 350.
8. *ibid.*, p. 350.
9. *ibid.*, p. 354.
10. *ibid.*, p. 355.
11. *ibid.*, p. 355.
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14. *ibid.*, p. 357.
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CHAPTER 5

**GURMAT : PHILOSOPHY AND MYSTICISM OF SIKH
GURUS - ITS IDENTITY WITH ETHICAL AND
MYSTICAL EXPERIENCES OF
BHAKTAS AND SUFIS**

“The Prophets arise”, says Dr. George Galloway; “from the ranks of the people; lonely and commanding figures, whose eyes pierce the veil of appearance, and whose lips speak the things they know. They signalize the advent and the power of the personal factor in religion, the principle destined to play so important a part in higher religion.”¹

The Prophets liberated new ideas, presented new mystical experiences and vision of life. They purified and vitalized existing religious situation and infused a new ethical and spiritual consciousness. The aim of Guru Nanak was not only to found a new religion, a new church, and a new institutionalized faith, but also to vitalize existing religious faiths, throw new light on traditional religious and cultural themes. Religions, both Hinduism and Islam had become mechanized, and the worship of the Eternal Spirit of God was depressed by a burden of observances and prohibitions and in many places it had become a tyranny of sheer observances.

Sikhism as a “founded religion”, was the “outcome of a personal experience” of Guru Nanak and it reflected his vision and outlook on life and the world. He spoke against external piety which concealed criminal minds, and wicked souls who exploited religion, while devoted obedience to spiritually enlightened saints was encouraged. Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh condemned hypocritical and insincere submission and mechanical obedience to any faith.

It is not difficult to probe into the ethical and spiritual depths of divine person like Guru Nanak or Guru Gobind Singh who have left a complete and vivid record of their thoughts and experiences in their own writings. There are almost as many philosophical and mystical verses of Guru Gobind Singh in *Dasm Granth* as of Guru Nanak in *Adi Guru Granth*. The thoughts, the doctrines and experiences of the first and the last prophet of the Sikhs are absolutely identical and crystal clear to a scholar who understands the languages in which they are written. To a scholar who does not understand them, or only pretends to understand them they are Greek and unintelligible.

For Guru Nanak, founding of Sikhism was not based on any intellectual synthesis, nor was it an extension and cult-offshoot of any existing faith as is generally imagined by extremely superficial non-Sikh observers or by Sikhs who are Sikhs only in name and appearance, and have never cared to seriously study either the history or the writings of the Gurus. This has already been made clear in the last chapter on the basis of scriptural evidence.

The Will and Divine Command to found the new faith, Sikhism, came as a *Call* from God. It was revelation, which Guru Nanak describes in many ways in his hymns. The average common thinker or intellectual may not know how this revelation came from the Unseen and the Unknown. This is how a philosopher of religious studies describes the phenomenon.

“The mountain peak first catches the light of the rising sun; and so it is the Prophet, standing high above the crowd of men, who receives the revealing light of God and then reflects it to the many. The Prophet and the spiritual leader became the organ of higher revelation communicating their own vision of divine truths to the society around them. When the religious life has grown stagnant and worship has become mechanical, when human hearts led captive by the desire of this world have forgotten the heavenly goal, through these elect souls the divine quickening comes and men are braced for the

fulfilment of their divine vocation. The, great crisis and the far-reaching new movements of man's spiritual development have had the temporal origin in these revealing experiences. In this way, the religious life of society has time and again been delivered from the bondage of the world and directed anew to the transcendent God. So, despite human failure and error, the true ideal of the spirit victoriously asserts itself. Some means of testing these claims to revealed truth will be found in the manner in which they maintain and justify themselves in the course of religious development. What truly reveals God will have revealing value for souls: if the Light is divine, it will be the Light of life."²

Behind the historical figures of prophets like Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh there is a supra-historical personality which is inseparable from the historical persons in the temporal world. It is the mental and spiritual communion with the supra-historical personality which takes the disciple and the initiate into the realm of mystical experiences. When the Chroniclers do not have first hand accounts of these mystical experiences, the writers on these prophets introduce myths and legends. Historical research can untangle the web of these myths and legends otherwise they stick to the life of the prophet as miracles, even when they are not miracle stories.

Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikh religion and his nine successors were conscious of the fact that their God-inspired faith based on revelation and experience, was in many ways distinct and different from the message given by other religions on the world-scene, though it had many common features of earlier monotheistic mystical faiths in which God-mysticism was placed far above Nature-mysticism and soul-mysticism, inspired by devotional worship (Bhakti) of gods and goddesses of Vaishnavas, Shivites, Lingites, and Chandi-worshippers.

Some of these *Vaishnavas* and *Shaivas* who were deeply mystical were led by their inner experience to transcend their earlier mode of worship and seek the Light

and Presence of God and God alone. Although their so-cial and cultural living in their traditional surroundings did not change much, they turned against idolatory, wor-ship of deities like Vishnu and Shiva and gave themselves upto intense monotheistic mysticism on the basis of their new experiences. Traditional Hinduism turned against them, resented their new postures and they in turn turned against traditional Hinduism. There was a similar move-ment in Islam as Islamic mysticism (Sufism) which even though orthodox in its Islamic practices moved away from dogmatic and intolerant postures of the Muslim theolo-gians. Sufism was denounced by orthodox Islam and vir-tually eliminated by Aurangzeb and his successors. Mono-theistic and anti-Brahmin mystics of Bhakti movements were disowned by orthodox Hinduism. As both these had some common features based on spiritual, social and cul-tural experiences, they were owned by Guru Nanak and his successors and their authentic writings preserved in *Adi Guru Granth*.

Without a sincere and intense love of God, inward-ness in a religion cannot become a self-reliant province and cannot rise above the superficial attractions of the external world in which human beings desiring to lead an animal life alone are attracted. Without healthy associa-tion of religion with a sound social philosophy, aesthetic culture, and a passion for complete freedom from all types of social and political slavery, a religion loses its specific moral and spiritual content and threatens to sink into mere subjective disposition. The making of political free-dom an inseperable part of religious consciousness of the Sikhs, has made them outstanding champions of social and political liberty. Few people have suffered so much or shed so much blood for their own liberty and for the liberty of other peoples' faiths and culture as the Sikhs have done during the last four hundred years.

Throughout their history Sikhs have realized from their tragic experiences and struggle for survival, that curtailment of one aspect of Sikhism, causes an injury to

the other. Sikhism aims to fill to the brim its devotees with an energy of spirit and transform the whole human existence of its followers to its very roots.

All the Sikh Gurus from Guru Nanak to Guru Gobind Singh disciplined their followers, each in his own way, to face different historical circumstances in different periods. They never tried to escape or run away or shut their eyes to the natural and man-made catastrophes in society and the country. Any Sikh or any member of the family, be he son or elder brother who compromised with the forces of tyranny and oppression, or diluted and distorted Sikh doctrines to compromise with decadent and defeated forces of Hinduism or despotic threats of Mughals and Mughans were disowned and discarded till they repented. This national discipline has existed to this day in morally and spiritually inspired Sikhs.

As such Sikhs, throughout their five centuries of history, have sought moral and spiritual inspiration and power from the Gurus whose Words and historical experiences are with us and have been able to face the darkest hours of their life and history with unconquerable courage and ascending optimism (*Chardi Kala*). The savageries of tyrants and armed political repression of powerful rulers have never been able to crush the spirit of the Sikhs. They have faced such repression in the past and they will face such oppression in the future but they will never allow the flame of their faith in God and their Prophets and the Light of consciousness of His divine protection and support fade out of their hearts and souls. They have the abiding assurance of the Eternal Guru and God, that this Light shall survive in its pristine glory through the darkest hours of national and world catastrophes.

“Religion”, says Dr George Galloways, “like a stream has sometimes periods of swift advance and at other times it seems to be stagnant, and there are even points where it appears to bend backwards in its course. The growth of religious consciousness of humanity is a process of momentous significance, its progress in man’s knowledge of

himself, of the world and of God. Religious progress never affects all classes in a society equally and ignorant superstition will be found alongside enlightened faith.”³

Islam and Christianity also faced such high tides and retreats backwards in the first five hundred years of their existence. But unfortunately Sikhism has not enjoyed even ten years of continuous peace and rest throughout the last three hundred and fifty years of its existence. The Mughal campaigns of annihilating Sikhs, the Mughan invasions, the Maratha occupation and their retreat from Punjab, the onslaught of British imperialism and now the combined attacks of Hindu fundamentalism in secular garb and communism in its crudest forms have turned Punjab into a concentration camp in which the Sikhs are treated as Jews were treated in Hitler’s Germany. In the last four decades, the Sikh masses have always been fighting one or the other battle but in all their battles, they have been let down by their selfish, greedy, incompetent leaders. Religious, cultural and literary progress has been thrown in the background in recent years, even by religious organizations.

Sikhism, thus, like all higher religions has faced its ups and downs. The followers of the Sikh Gurus are after all human beings struggling for perfection, and no Sikh has ever claimed to be half so perfect as the Gurus were. Fortunately, Sikhism never had a dogmatic theology of the type there always existed in Christianity, Islam and Hindu philosophic systems. Sikh theology has been fundamentally a mystical theology, based primarily on mysticism of love and moral discipline of inner life inspired by the Word of the Gurus.

Purely doctrinaire approach towards religious ideals has been rejected by Sikh scriptures. Basically Sikhism is an ethical and spiritual religion and a Path to the highest illumination and union with God. Superficial acts of piety and religious observations are not given much importance in achieving higher spiritual and mystical states. It is this concentration on inner dedication and spirituality which

has given to practising Sikhs, superhuman strength and moral courage to fight and ultimately defeat all the tyrannical forces which have tried to destroy it.

“A man is spiritual” says George Santayana, “when he lives in the presence of the ideal, and whether he eats or drinks, does so for the sake of a true and ultimate good. He is spiritual when he envisages his goal so frankly that his whole material life becomes a transparent and transitive vehicle, an instrument which scarcely arrests attention but allows the spirit to use it economically and with perfect detachment and freedom. Spirituality likes to say, “Behold the lilies of the field! For its secret has the same simplicity as their vegetative art, only spirituality has succeeded in adding consciousness without confusing instinct.”⁴

The writings of Guru Nanak and all his successors throw light on the inner life and vision of the Masters. On every page of *Guru Granth Sahib* and in every verse and line of the hundreds of hymns of Guru Gobind Singh one can see and aesthetically feel the greatness of their divine Wisdom, the sublime spiritual state in which the Gurus lived. Only a poet-prophet like Guru Nanak could portray the sublime state in which his mind, heart and soul were steeped day and night thus:

Sublime are melodies of Primal Music (*Nada*),
 Sublime are scriptures of divine Wisdom;
 Sublime are living creatures,
 Sublime is their variety and difference;
 Sublime are their beautiful forms,
 Sublime are their manifold colours,
 Sublime are creatures wandering naked.
 Sublime is air, sublime is water,
 Sublime is fire working wondrously.
 Sublime is the earth.
 Sublime are four sources of life.
 (Sweat, seed, egg, and winter)
 Sublime are desires and appetites
 For which human beings crave.

Sublime are meetings in human relations,
 Sublime are separations and partings,
 Sublime are manifold hungers of senses,
 Sublime are gratifications of the senses.

Sublime are prayers glorifying God,
 Sublime are worship and adoration of the Lord,
 Sublime are men lost in wilderness,
 Sublime are persons walking on righteous Path.

Sublime is the thought of God as near,
 Sublime is believing God far away,
 Sublime is visualizing Him here and now.
 On seeing this wondrous spectacle, Lord.
 I am entranced in the ecstasy of the sublime.

By God's consummate grace, says Nanak,
 Comes experience and vision of the Sublime.

Guru Nanak, *Asa-di-Var*. 3:1

And this is Guru Gobind Singh's vision of God Whom he has given a new Attributive Name of "Almighty Sword, Protector of the humble and saintly and Chastiser of the wicked":

He has no name, no dwelling place, no caste;
 He has no shape or colour of lines of fate;
 He is Primal Being,
 Embodiment of Gracious Bounty,
 Unborn and Infinite from the beginning.
 He has no country and no holy garb;
 He has no shape or form or desire;
 To the East and West,
 To the North and South,
 Look wherever you may:
 There, in all eight directions
 God pervades in all places,
 As Pure and Perfect Love.

Guru Gobind Singh, *The Jap*, 80

Guru Nanak's thoughts, ideals, experiences re-echo in the works of Guru Gobind Singh with renewed vigour,

vitality and majestic splendour. The spirit of Sikhism reaches its highest fulfilment in the heart and soul of the Sikh Panth. This perennial philosophy of the Gurus is called “*Gurmat*”, by Guru Nanak and all his successors.

The word *mat* in Sanskrit, Prakrit and many regional languages means: thoughts, beliefs, views, tenets, doctrines or meditations. *Buddha mat* means doctrines of Buddha. *Isai mat* means Christian religion and doctrines. *Hindu mat* means Hinduism and it includes all Hindu sects. The word *Gurmat* means: religion and doctrines of the Sikh Gurus, and is used hundreds of times in the writings of Guru Nanak, Guru Amar Das, Guru Arjan. As Sikhism is a Path to be traversed by each individual according to his own efforts and aspirations, Sikhism is called *Gurmat Marga* or *Gurmat Rah*. Lord Buddha also called Buddhism *Buddha Marga* (Pali *maggā*). A Universal Brotherhood of the Sikhs of the ten Gurus is called “*Panth*”. To distinguish it from other religious Brotherhoods, this Panth is known as ‘*Gurmukh Panth*’, *Gursikh Panth*, *Nirmal Panth*, *Khalsa Panth*.” Bhai Gurdas says:

mariya sikka jagat vich
Nanak nirmal-panth chalaya

Guru Nanak minted a New Coin
of his Faith in the world
And created a Panth (organised Religion)
of the Pure and Enlightened ones

Bhai Gurdas, *Var I*, 45

Sikhism has been distinctively mentioned as *Gurmat*, *Gursikh dharma*, *Sacha marga* : Path of Truth through out the Sikh scriptures.

No where is the word *Hindu-mat* or *Sant-mat* or *Nirgun-mat* used for Sikhism either in *Guru Granth*, or any canonized scriptures like the works of Apostles, Bhai Gurdas, and Bhai Nand Lall. Nor do we find these words in any authentic record on Sikh history throughout Sikh history. The word *Gurmat* or *Gurmukh Mat* is exclusively

used hundreds of times in the works of Guru Nanak, Guru Amar Das, Guru Ram Das and Guru Arjan Dev. We give below a few quotations from the works of Guru Nanak and Guru Amar Das:

Guru Nanak's Verses

1. Through the spiritual influence of *Gurmat*
One renounces his ego-consciousness,
And achieves realization of Truth

A.G.,Guru Nanak, *Rag Majh*, 144

2. The world is shackled
In the chains of sense-attachment,
And lives in vain hopeful desires;
Through the inspiration of *Gurmat*,
Some become detached from the world;
In their heart resides His Name,
And the lotus of their heart blooms,
With spiritual fragrance.

A.G. Guru Nanak, *Rag Asa*

3. Under the inspiration of *Gurmat*
Are achieved *dharmā* : righteousness,
Patience and the Light of God's Name.

AG. Guru Nanak, *Gaudi*, p. 25

4. After imbibing the wisdom of *Gurmat*
One can attain the Supreme State (*Param-pada*)
Of spiritual enlightenment.
Thus, says Nanak,
The Guru dispels all doubts and delusions.

AG. Guru Nanak, *Maru*, p. 1041

5. Through the spiritual discipline of *Gurmat*
The mystical state of *sahaj* is achieved.
The heart and soul then remains absorbed in *Sahaj*

AG. Guru Nanak. *Maru*, p. 1009

Guru Amar Das' Verses

1. *Gurmat* inspires reverence, O brother,
Reverence is the divine essence
Of religious discipline and Truth.

AG. Guru Amar Das, *Sorath*, p. 638

2. The essence of *Gurmat*
Is intense life of contemplation;
One should day and night meditate on Him,
And attain the Door of Liberation.

A.G. Guru Amar Das, *Vad*, p. 559

3. *Gurmat* always inspires
A devotee with blissful peace,
All ego-sense is dispelled from within.

A.G. Guru Amar Das, *Maru*, p. 1050

4. *Gurmat* illumines the heart with Light
And all inner darkness is dispelled.

A.G. Guru Amar Das, *Ramkali*, p.949

5. Through *Gurmat*, the wisdom of the Guru,
The pearl of divine knowledge,
Dwells and shines in the heart;
Then one sees the Light of God,
Everywhere and in every soul and heart.

A.G., Guru Amar Das, *Slok*: 1417

Throughout the writings of all the Gurus, Sikhism, the philosophy and mystical faith of the Gurus, is distinctly mentioned as *Gurmat*, *Gurmukh mat* or *Gur-dikhya*. And this is how *Gurmat* is mentioned and its divine wisdom elaborated in hundreds of hymns. There is not a single line in the voluminous Sikh Scriptures calling Sikhism “*Sant Mat*” or “*Nirgun Mat*”.

IDENTITY OF GURMAT: SIKH PHILOSOPHY AND MYSTICISM WITH
HIGHER ETHICAL AND MYSTICAL EXPERIENCES OF MEDIEVAL
BHAKTAS AND SUFLS

God is One and Eternal. Truth is One and Eternal. God has given glimpses of His Light and Presence to many prophets and saints. The names of even Child saints like Dhruva, who was hardly five years old, and Prahlada, who was eight years old, are mentioned in the *Guru Granth* as the earliest saints, who received the grace and protection of God, in bye-gone ages. In the writings of Sheikh Farid, a saint of Islamic tradition and the later writings of Medieval Bhaktas, Guru Nanak and his successors saw a complete identity of their faith with the ethical and mystical experiences of these saints. The earlier writings of these saints and mystics were not included in the *Guru Granth*. Only the later writings, which were written in the highest state of illumination were accepted by the Gurus. In these writings, these saints and mystics have virtually repudiated their earlier thoughts and turned away from them. In this chapter, we will take up only Jayadeva, one of the earliest medieval saints of Bengal.

Gita Govinda is the well-known work of Jayadeva. Not a single verse is taken from this classic in *Guru Granth*. After writing *Gita Govinda* there was such a mystical advance in Jayadeva's life that his mind and soul transcended the worship of a lower Deity like Krishna and found unicity and illumination in the Light and Presence of God, the Supreme Being. The Vaishnava devotees have ignored the later part of his life and idealized him as a great Vaishnava, Krishna-worshipper. Guru Nanak' and his successors admired his final achievement in his Love-mysticism and he is called the supreme amongst Bhaktas of Kaliyuga. The two Jayadevas are historically one, - but spiritually different and poles apart.

Nabha Das ji in his Bhaktamal writes: 'The poet Jayadeva is Emperor among poets; while other poets are like petty kinds of small states. His *Gita Govinda* has become

known for its brilliance in the three worlds. It is the repository of erotics, of poetry, of the nine *rasasa* and of the pleasant art of love.”

It is shocking to note that Jayadeva has been completely ignored in the Hinduism of the Hindi belt. But in Sikh tradition he acquires the highest place amongst the Bhaktas. Bhai Gurdas describes how *Gita Govinda* continued to be a respectable religious classic and how a sudden mystical experience coming as Grace of God transported his mind into the realm of highest illumination. Bhai Gurdas writes:

“In the ecstasy of *Prema Bhakti* (love-mysticism) Jayadeva sang *Giti-govinda* in the musical melody of *Sahaj* (aesthetic love). He narrated in it the *lila* (love sport) and *charitra* (life) of Krishna, which even appealed to Lord God, who knows the innermost secrets of hearts. Jayadeva, once, could not think of the right words while writing. He folded his manuscript and went out for his bath and *sandhya* prayers. The treasure of divine Wisdom, Lord God Himself came in the form of Bhakta Jayadeva and completed the verse which the poet had left unwritten:

When Jayadeva came back and read the verse he felt spiritually exalted and transported into mystical experience which was so sublime and enrapturing that it illumined his whole heart and soul. Profoundly moved by this spiritual state of ecstasy, Jayadeva went out into the forest. There he saw a wondrous tree blazing with divine Light and on every leaf of the tree were written in shining letters the verses of complete *Gita-govinda*. Infinite was the mystery of this mystical experience. The Lord, thus revealed the whole *Gita-govinda* and exalted him beyond it to sublime experience. There, in the forest, the Lord, then revealed His divine Presence and embraced him in His Love and grace. The true saints never reveal the profound and deep mystery of their mystical union with the Infinite.” (*Var 10, Verse 10*)⁵

Bhai Gurdas highlights three important facts about

-Jayadeva's mystical life and its stages: (1) *Gita-govinda* is an inspired creative work and the highest achievement of the poet in Krishna-bhakti conventional garb. (2) It is his meditations and concentrations on this divine love which opened his consciousness to higher mystical experiences through a strange phenomenal experience in spiritual ecstasy. '(3) Jayadeva's experience of transcendental life is described very vividly only by Bhai Gurdas. Bengali and Orissa scholars who have written very scholarly commentaries on Jayadeva's life and *Gita-govinda* have missed the point.

Dr Hew McLeod studies Sikhism and the medieval Bhaktas and Sufi Saints as an archeologist studies the ruins of forgotten figures of a dead civilization and culture. He not only gives speculative theories about their historic background and mutual relations, but indulges in false constructions and distortions and carries them to the realm of highly objectionable and unacademic absurdities. We have discussed the relation of Jayadeva's thought to those of *Guru Granth* in this chapter. We will take up Kabir and other Bhaktas in the next two chapters and reveal how Dr Hew McLeod spins fantasy theories having no historical or doctrinal acceptability not only about the Sikh Gurus but also about these Bhaktas like Kabir, Ravidas, Namdev. He never quotes any authoritative work or scholar in support of his irrelevant and untenable arguments.

The purpose of this chapter is to give convincing evidence about Sikhism as a Founded religion and its relation to illumined Bhaktas and Sufis. After his return from his missionary journey to Mecca and Medina and other centres of Semetic faiths, Guru Nanak established the Sikh *Sangat* (Church) at Kartarpur and institutionalized it. It was to be a light-shedding and evolving institutionalized religion, enduring as a granite and consistent in her belief in divine guidance. It was to be the herald of God's Word, His Light and Presence in the whole world throughout the centuries.

Sikhism was not to be a holy order of ascetics and

mendicants judged for piety by their formal renunciation and their robes of piety. It was to be a Brotherhood of those who professed their faith in God and Truth as uni-versally as Guru Nanak did, and as close and visibly indwelling as Guru Nanak experienced it. It had to dis-charge manifold temporal and spiritual functions which were neglected or ignored by other faiths. The Sikh temple was to be mediator between man and God. No caste or class was to be a privileged class. No rites and ceremonies were to be invested with magical efficacy. Any initiated Sikh, man or woman, could conduct the services if he was competent to do so. Holiness was not to be distinguished by dress but by character. The only and fundamental duty of the Sikh Church was to keep the Light of Truth burn-ing in its prestine glory through the Word of God and its doors were to remain open to all believers and non-be-lievers, to the rich and the poor and to the native and the foreigner. Even though some external forms were given to Sikhs to institutionalized Khalsa Holy Order and to dispense with human Gurus, these externals were never the end, but only the means to aid and inner religious and spiritual life.

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2. *ibid.*, p. 586-87
3. *ibid.*, p. 581-82
4. George Santayana : *Reason in Religion*, p. 193.
5. Trilochan Singh, *Jayadeva : The Poet Mystic of Bengal in Sikh Scriptures and Traditions*, The Sikh Review, Calcutta, August 1988. Most of the writers on jayadeva who have written and worked on jayadeva in English have worked on this poet-mystic, purely as a Sanskrit Classic or have studied only in Orissa tradition. A true historical and mystical picture emerges only in Bengali works on jayadeva. There are nearly 40 excellent commentaries. At my request, the eminent scholar Dr Suniti Kumar Chatterjee wrote a monograph on jayadeva published by Sahitya Akademi, to clear the linguistic misapprehensions about jayadeva's work. I have prepared a complete work on his early life, the aesthetic achievements

of the poet in *Gita Govinda* and his spiritual state in the two hymns included in *Guru Granth*. A correct translation of these hymns with word to word annotation and commentary has been given. Most of the Sikh theologians have failed to interpret the hymns of Jayadeva in Rag Maru because of their inability to understand the Prakrit and Apabhramsa words in it. My book on Jayadeva will be published in winter 1993.

CHAPTER 6

**SIKH RELIGION UNIQUELY DISTINCT
FROM NIRGUN SANT SAMPARDAYA
OF HINDUISM**

There is a political weapon called “Linguistic Imperialism”, which insensitive and powerful Rulers and Dominant majorities use against the political status and aspirations of minorities, in dictatorships and also democracies, which, in actual functioning, are far more ruthless than dictatorships. Such words as separatism, unity and integrity of the country, and sedition are freely used to black-mail numerically small and politically helpless minorities by such governments.

There is another weapon called “Linguistic autocracy” which Christian missionaries, Hindu and Muslim fundamentalists have been using as a scholarly weapon to run down and give demeaning images of religions, other than their own, believing that their name and built-up popularity will be blindly accepted by the world and society in which their influence dominates and the stifled voice of the scholars of that religion will not reach the society in which they dominate; and if it does reach people, it can be dismissed with an organized autocratic disapproval of the organized media of the rulers.

In order to repeatedly prove that Guru Nanak was not a Prophet but a *Sant* of North Indian Nirgun Tradition, Dr Hew McLeod and his strongest supporters from Batala-Berkley Christian missionary group use terms which do not have the meaning and connotations which they give to them. Neither any dictionary of any language supports their contention; nor any Indian scholar ever attributes

these meanings to these terms. It is the capricious and arbitrary uses of these terms which forms the basis of Dr Hew McLeod's clap-trap demeaning theories, in support of which he does not quote any internal or external evidence, either from Sikh scriptures or from Sikh his-tory. We first take up the accepted meaning and interpre-tation of these terms. Then we will quote verbatim from the writings of Hew McLeod and his supporters. We will then give factual interpretation of these terms in Sikh scriptures and history. The following are the major terms:

TRADITION

"The word 'tradition' means, etymologically, 'handing over'. The conception of 'tradition', therefore, implies (a) a deposit, which is handed over and (b) deposi-taries i.e. persons who are in possession of the deposit, and are commissioned to preserve it and transmit it to successors. "1

"Tradition", says *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica* "is the aggregate of customs, beliefs, practices that give continuity to a culture, civilization or a social group and this shapes its views taken in this sense, the laws and institutions signifies essential doctrines or tenets, that are not explicitly set down in sacred scriptures but are still accepted as orthodox and authentic, so that they have equal authority with sacred writings and are sometimes used to in terpret them."2

Edmund Burke says, "A nation must have rules of behaviour to bring unity of purpose and of the mutual adaptation of conflicting interests and emotions; In time these unifying rules become prescriptive traditions that assign rights and privileges and transmit them to the next generation. It evokes profound respect because it embraces the accumulate collective wisdom of the age. Tradition must, therefore, be examined with great caution and ven-eration. "3

N.P. Williams, writing on Christian traditions says, "The Founders of Christianity and Islam did not believe

in the eternal continuation of Jewish tradition and by finding new Faiths they laid the foundation of a: New system of religious. tradition.”⁴ Similarly Lord Buddha and Guru Nanak were no doubt born in Kashatriya families, but the moment they founded new religions and faiths on the basis of their inner divine experience and ,the *Call*, they completely broke away from the age-long Hindu traditions based on Manu’s...*Simritis* and *Shastras*. They did not accept a single religious law *or* rule of Manu *Samritis* or any other Hindu book of law, but built their own ‘social structure and codes of conduct. Most of these codes of conducts of Buddhism and Sikhism repudiated the fun-damental and most, satred laws of *Hindu Samritis* and *Skastras*. *Guru Granth* and the. writings of Guru ;Gobind Singh explicitly and implicitly set, down the principles and moral laws of this newly founded Faith, Sikhism.

Dr Hew McLeod, Dr. Juergenmeyer and Dr N. Gerald Barrier invariably use the Word “tradition” for Sikh: reli-gion, implying through this linguistic autocracy, that Sikhism is ‘only a sect in Hindu tradition. While Dr Hew McLeod tries, to prove that it is a conspicuous tradition, Dr Juergenmeyer calls it a ,’*forgottentradiation*. Hew McLeod never ventures to define the word “tradition” the way he uses it, but Juergenmeyer translates it as “*sampardaya*”. The, word “tradition” in Sanskrit ,means *parampara* and not *sampardaya*. The word *sampardaya* is translated by Sri Aurobindo as “Group” within a Religious Group or religious system.”⁵

BHAKTA (BHAGAT)

Bhakti is intense love, faith, piety and devotion as religious principle or means of liberation. *Narada Bhakti Sutra* and *Sandilya Bkakti sutra* are the fundamental works on Vaishnava Bhakti ideals, both based on earlier works like *Pancharatra* and *Bhagvata*, *Narada Bhakti Sutra* not only surpasses *Sandalya* by its eloquence and fervid devotion but it may even be regarded as one of the best specimens of Bhakti literature that has ever been written. These *Bhakti*

Sutras preach nine forms of Bhakti-worship : (1) *Shravan* (hearing), (2) *Kirtan* (singing praise of the gods and god-desses,) (3) *Simran* (meditation or remembrance of the Deity's name), (4) *Pad sevan* : worshipping the feet of the idol, (5) *archana* : worshipping the image of the Deity, (6) *vandana*: salutation, (7) *dasya*: attendance, (8) *sakhya* : friendship, (9) *atamnivedan* : Self-offering. This is called *Navda Bhakti*. Its principles are by and large rejected in *Guru Granth*. This *Navda* (nine kinds) Bhakti is rejected in Sikh Scriptures because it is related to specific idol worship.

Bhakti has always been associated with these nine principles in Hinduism. Even when saints and philosophers have attained and preached transcendent Monism (*Advaita*), they have never given up the idol-worship or image worship. In their transcendental state these saints and mystics have no doubt criticized idolatory or worship of lower Deities like Vishnu, Shiva. Bhaktas like Kabir and other low caste Bhaktas were never permitted to enter any Hindu temple. Kabir was a Muslim by birth and also influenced by Sufi traditions. So Bhaktas like Kabir built their own *ashrams* and congregational centres apart from Vaishnava Hindu temples. These Bhaktas achieved the highest illumination in quite an early stage. Bhakti is a path in which the traveller depend only on intense love of God.

SANT (SAINT)

Just as a holyman is known as saint, people in all faiths and religions show tremendous reverence to saints of their faiths. Popular views about saints are expressed in many ways. Ambrose Bearce in his "*Devils Dictionary*" defines a Saint as, " a dead sinner, revised and re-edited. "Emerson says," A saint is a sceptic once in every twenty four-hours". "The world venerates dead saints and persecutes the living ones". A similar idea is expressed in *Guru Granth* :

The world does not like
 One who dies in intense love,
 People do not praise
 One who dies in humility,
 And mingles with the dust of the Beloved.

A.G. Guru Amar Das, *Suhi*, p. 755

In *Islam* says Hujwiri, “the principle and foundation of Sufism and knowledge of God rests on saintship.” “The word usually translated as “saint”, *wali*, means someone who is under special protection, a friend.” “The *Auliya Allah*, the ‘friends of Gods’ are mentioned in the Koran several times, the most famous occasion being Sura 10:63.” Verily, the friends of God, no fear is upon them nor are they sad.”⁶ The perfect Saints who initiated disciples and imparted illumination to their disciples (*murids*) were known as “*Sheikh*”. The disciples completely surrendered themselves to the Pir and the Pir supervised every breath of the *murid*. “A later mystic has compared the Master-*Sheikh* in Arabic, *Pir* in Persian - to the prophet (for a tradition says that “the Sheikh in his group is like the prophet in his people.” All the prophets have come in order to open people’s eyes to see their own faults and God’s perfection, their own weakness and God’s power, their own injustice and God’s justice.” Thus an enlightened Sheikh is a Saint and a perfect Man.

In Buddhism, Buddha, the Perfectly Enlightened One is the Prophet, while *Buddhisattva* and *Arhat* are the saints of highest rank. “Whereas the *Arhat* strives most earnestly for *Nirviina*, the *Buddhisattva* firmly refuses to accept the final release.” For as much as there is the will that all sentient beings should be altogether made free, I will not forsake my fellow creatures.”⁸ “Those are specially called Budhisattvas who with specific determination dedicate all the activities of their future and present lives to the task of saving the world. They do not merely contemplate, but feel, all the sorrow of the world, and because of their love they cannot be idle but expend their virtues with supernatural generosity.”⁹

In Hinduism, the concept of “Prophet” does not exist, because Hinduism is not a founded religion. The sages whose wisdom forms the earliest religious literature of Hinduism were called *Rishis*. These *Rishis* were great thinkers, contemplatives and saints in the real sense. They were what we call sanctified sages inspired poets and singers of hymns. There were seven orders of *Rishis*, most of whom were ascetics: *Devarishis*, *Brahmarishis*, *Rajarishis*, *Maharishis*, *Paramrishis*, *Srutarishis* and *Kardarishis*. The word Bhakta (Bhagat) was used for those who became perfect mystics of love, and their excellence was judged by their devotion and spiritual achievements.’

The word “*Sant*” began to be used by Hindi writers of our century like my friends, ‘Dr Hazari Prashad Dwedi, Dr Ram Kumar Verma, and by Dr P.N. Tiwari, Dr P.D. Barthwal, Dr Parusram Chaturvedi first for Kabir and then for saints of all religions including Sufis and Sikh Gurus. At times they divided these *sants* into *Nirgun* and *Sargun (Sagun)* : monotheists, and saints who worshipped avatars like Rama and Krishna. At first even Kabir’ did not find respectable place in Hindi literature. It goes to, the credit of Kshiti Mohan Sen and Rabindranath Tagore for giving this high status to Kabir which the scholars of Hindi belt had denied to him, earlier.

After Tagore’s earlier ‘poems of Kabir became popular and attracted international attention, Rabindranath decided to start Hindi Department in Shantiniketan. Dr Hazari Prashad Dwedi “,as selected for the post and Tagore asked him to start work on Kabir. Hazari Prashad ji told me, that he frankly told Tagore that Kabir was considered a *Ganvar Kavi* (a rustic poet) and any work on Kabir may not attract the attention of the Hindi scholars towards the Hindi Department in Shantiniketan. Rabindranath Tagore was greatly shocked and deeply hurt and embittered on hearing this Tagore said, he had started the department for the study of Poet-saints like Kabir and if Hazari Prashad did not consider Kabir a refined Hindi Poet he could go

back. He would rather close down the department than allow the study of any Hindu literature minus, Kabir and Ravidas. Dr Hazari Prashad Dwedi then studied those very poems out of Kshiti Mohan Sen's selection which the Poet has translated.¹⁰

In the Hindi literary world the word 'Sant' began to be used for all religious prophets and saints and even for Sufis and Sikh Gurus; The use of word 'Bhakta' virtually disappeared. The clean division of *Santinto Nirgun* (strict monotheists) and *Sargun(sagun)* worshipping avataras as God, became popular but is an, arbitrary classification into which Sufi- Saints and, Sikh Gurus cannot be legitimately included, because of their different doctrines. 'We give below the views of two leading Hindi scholars, Dr P.D. Barthwal and Parsuram Chaturvedi.

P.D. BARTH WAL'S NIRGUN SCHOOL OF HINDI POETRY

In the *Preface* to his book on, "*Nirgun School of Hindi Poetry*" Dr Barthwal writes: "In this work an attempt has been made at presenting the thought of a 'school of Hindi poets who are generally, though not very aptly called Nirguri *Saint-poets* and its title therefore needs no apology. Sant School (*Sant mat*) and Nirgun school are two terms, frequently need to denote the thought of this group of saint-poets. The word *Sant* may have two probable derivations. It may be derived from the word *Shanta*, as in Pali, meaning a quietest or it may be plural form of *Sat* used as a singular in Hindi, meaning one who believes in or has realized the only Reality. In both these senses, it is a term which fittingly applies to these saints poets, though the latter is the generally accepted origin of the word *Sant*. But besides signifying Reality, *Sat* also conveys the sense of goodness, and Santa has thus come to acquire too wide a significance and has become a synonym for a good man or a gentleman as opposed to evil person. Even In the field of religious life the term would now include the so many avowedly finitist saints (*sargun sants*) like Surdas and Tulsidas who belong to a different trend of thought

from the one to which our saint-poets belong.¹¹

And this is what Dr P.D. Barthwal has to say about “*The Nirgun School of Hindi Poetry*”: “*The appellation Nirgun school is also not a very happy one. Dogmatism apart, these saints neither who by discard the saguna (finite) aspect of God, nor give ultimacy to His Nirguna (infintite) aspect. For, the essence escapes both and can only be attained when both are transcended. When in later saints of this school the tendency to transcend these aspects comes into great relief and takes rather a grossly dogmatic form, the absurdity of this title becomes more patent. But in the absense of a better term I am obliged to use it, because it has the strength of traditional usage and appears to have been tolerated and perhaps even accepted by Kabir and others. It must, however, be remembered that these saints can he called Nirgunis only as opposed to the gross term of Saguna worship, such as paying homage to idols and avatars.*”¹²

Dr Barthwal classified the Nirgun Hindi Poets philosophically into three groups (1) Vedantic or Adivaitic (2) Bhedabheda (Sri Chaitanayas School ofVaishnavism), (3) Vishishta advaita (of Ramanuja). He includes in the first group Kabir, Dadu, Sundardas, and Bhikha. To the sec-ond group according to him belong Nanak and other Sikh Gurus. And to the third group, belong Shibadayal Prannath, Dariya and Bulleh Shah.¹³ He calls all these by a collective name of Nirgun Panth and concludes the chapter saying, “The Nirgun Panth as devised by Kabir thus fulfils the need of both philosophy and religion of head and heart.”¹⁴

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON BARTH WAL ’S NIRGUN SCHOOL SANT CULT

1. Dr Barthwal identifies the word ‘Sant’ with the English word Saint.

2. He is not clear about the Nirgun School or Nirgun Panth in which he includes Guru Nanak and Bulleh Shah who are not Hindi Poets in any sense of the word. Guru Nanak wrote some hymns in Prakrit, but all his hymns are in various dialects of Punjabi. Bulleh Shah also has not written a single verse in Hindi

3. From reading his book from page 30 to 89 Dr Barthwal leaves no doubt in the mind of any knowledgeable person that the whole of his work is based on the Sant-cult views of Radhaswamis, and he frequently refers to those Kabir Panthis and Radhaswami leaders like Lalla Shivdayal Singh, the founder of Radhaswami sect and Rai Bahadur Saligram who was the original organizer of Radhaswami Cult.

4. Guru Nanak's philosophy is not even remotely associated with Bhedabheda doctrines, as imagined by Dr Barthwal nor that of Punjabi Sufi poet Bulleh Shah who was a disciplined Qaidri Saint and whose poetry reflects all the doctrines of Qaidri Sufi mysticism.

5. Tulasi Sahib eldest son of Peshwa Raghunath Rao and brother of Baji Rao II became a Kabir Panthi. When he met the successors of Ram Rai 'he was upset and attacked them for not being true Kabir Panthis. He has recorded discussions with Ram Rai's disciples in his *Ghata Ramayana*. With the arrogance and pompousness peculiar to him Tulasi Sahib attacks Ram Rai *deras* leader Palakram, thus, "Nanak has asked you to follow the Guru who would lead you to the other and the only side of existence (*Wah-Guru*), whereas you follow the Guru who would embroil you in this (*Yah-Guru*). He enjoins extricating (*karhana*) the soul and joining it to the Lord (*Parsadh*) but you prepare a painful (*karah*) of pudding (*Parsad*). He enjoins bathing in the lake of nectar which the Yogis call Mansarover. He did not mean the tank of Amritsar in the Punjab of which you sing praises. He condemned idol worship, and you worship a bamboo rod (the flag staff)¹⁵. (This refers to Jhanda Sahib fair held every year in Ram Rai's dera at Dehradun).

Thus Dr P. D. Barthwal's Nirgun School or Nirgun Panth is nothing other than the Kabir Panth as seen by the founder of Radhaswami Sant-cult Shivdayal, who was originally a Kabirpanthi. While the Radhaswamis of Uttar Pradesh concentrated on the works of Kabir and Dadu, the leader of the Beasa branch was squeezed out by them

because he was a Sikh and he set up his headquarter in Beas. So-he used the *Adi Granth* as his basic source of teachings. The Sant-tradition was the name given to these *Radhaswamis-Kabir-panthis* movements of nineteenth century whose leaders acted as gurus of these cults, Dr Barthwal's book and Pamsram Chaturvedi's work on Kabir and Sant tradition have been used by scholars of Hindi literature in Uttar Pradesh as source book of this line of thought. Western scholars who have worked on Kabir have followed, them uncritically and have accepted their terminology also, without probing into the doctrines and thoughts of these cults.

ANALYSIS OF PARUSRAM CHATURVEDI'S UTTARI BHARAT KI
SANT PRAMPARA

Parusram chaturvedi gives etymological definitions of the word "Sant" as found in Sanskrit dictionary and Hindi literature and concludes that he is using it in the same sense as the English word "saint" is commonly used. No special meaning and significance has been given to the word "Sant" as coined by Hew McLeod. Kalidas calls "Sant" a *bhuddhiman* (wise man); Bhagvata considers Sant a *pavitar atman* a pure soul. Tulsidas author of *Ramayana* defines Sant as *sajjan* : a friend; Bhartrihari defines him as *paropkari* : a benevolent and charitable person. In *Mahabharata* he is concluded as *Sadachari*, a man of good character. He frankly concludes that in Sanskrit and Hindi literature it is used in the same sense as the English word "Saint".

In his *Sant Tradition of North India*, P. Chaturvedi discusses a long list of Saints giving their life briefly, but he does not discuss their works except those of Kabir and his successors. He starts with Jayadeva and Namdeva, and comes to Kabir and his immediate 'Successors. He then discusses all the ten Gurus, Banda and Udasi and Nirmala religious groups. He then writes about minor cults like Radhaswamis and similar Sant-cults. He even includes Mahatma Gandhi in his Sant tradition.¹⁶

Strangely enough, P. Chaturvedi includes in the Hindi Nirgun Sants he discusses in his book, Punjabi Sufi Poets - like Sheikh Farid and Bulleh Shah. Like Guru Nanak these Sufi Poets have written only in Punjabi. By no stretch of imagination can they be called Hindi poets. Chaturvedi also includes Ram Tirath who wrote only in English and Urdu, and Mahatma Gandhi, who no doubt was popular as a Hindu politician but not as a Hindi poet-Sant.¹⁷

In his scholarly work *"Mysticism of Maharashtra"*; Prof. R.D. Ranade, calls all the, *Nirgun and Sagun* saints of Maharashtra "*Sants*" which according to him is equivalent to the word saint" as used by mystical traditions of Christian churches. In the long introductory chapter he gives an illuminating comparative study between Christian mysticism and Indian mysticism. The Sants in his work include Giandeve, Namdeva, Gora, Visoba, Samvata, Chokha, Janabai, Sena, Trilochan, Eknath and his companions Tukaram and his companions, Ramdas (teacher of Shivji).¹⁸ In the end he calls the whole *Sant tradition*, a "Bhakti movement" and his concluding chapter is "*Bhakti and Rationalism*" of the atheists and communists. Prof. Ranade writes "The doctrine of Bhakti which these Saints of the Maratha school taught in their spiritual literature has been held in such high esteem by rationalistic writers like Prof. Patwardhan, that one wonders how these could keep to their rationalism; while applauding the Bhakti doctrine of the Saints. Quoting Patwardhan's appreciation of this Sant literature in such words as, "soul consoling kinship of ultimate realities", "discovery of the un-known in the known"; romance of Light; surrender of soul to Love, Light and Ultimate Being, Prof. Ranade commends: "If all rationalism could be so eloquent of the merits of Bhakti, one could by all means be such a rationalist."¹⁹

HEW MCLEOD'S CLAP-TRAP, IRRELEVANT AND INADMISSIBLE
THEORY OF "SANT TRADITION OF NORTH INDIA"

In all his four or five books, Dr Hew McLeod gives an

oddly queer and outlandish theory about Nirgun Sant Tradition of North India, into which he and his Group try to fix Sikh Gurus, just as an anthropologist venturing on grotesque oddities would try to fix the Indian Toda tribe racially and culturally in the African tribes of Ethiopia or Kenya.

The first thing to be noted is that Hew McLeod's "North India" is not the north India of history or geography in which "Sikhism was born, and developed into maturity. His north India and north Indian Sants are all between the post-1947 borders and Bengal. How he goes into blandly fallacious and conjectural construction of his utterly untenable theories, we will examine in detail now in the chapters to follow.

Hew McLeod spells out the details of his Nirgun Sant tradition in the fifth Chapter of his book *Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion* from Page 151-163 and when he tries to fix his crude, pedestrian, and completely distorted summary of Guru Nanak's doctrines, tailored to fit into the framework of his imaginary *Sant* doctrines, he says in his last chapter: "The result must be somewhat disappointing. We can, however, affirm nothing categorically, and assumptions we make must be strictly tentative. It is perhaps reasonable to postulate a growing dissatisfaction with traditional religious beliefs and practices and a growing attraction towards Sant ideas acquired from Sadhus with whom he happened to come in contact. In doing so, however, we offer little more than conjecture. That dissatisfaction and attraction of this kind did occur is an obvious assumption but we do not really know when or in what manner this development took place, neither can we trace the procedure whereby he evolved his own interpretation of Sant tradition. "It must be emphasized that our procedure for this period is based on assumptions and conjecture," says Dr Hew McLeod not once but repeatedly.²⁰

Thus, in one concluding page of his first book, he calls these perverted theories, constructed specially to

present a distorted and demeaning image of Sikh Gurus and Sikhism, postulates, conjectures and assumptions. To start with, Hew McLeod attributes special meaning and definitions to two key words “Sant” and “Bhakta”²¹ which are not accepted by any existing Sanskrit or Hindi dictionary, nor are these definitions accepted by any learned scholar, eastern or western of Kabir and his contemporaries or of other eminent medieval Saints. We have already given the views of eminent Indian scholars in the foregoing pages.

Hindi scholars speak of idol worshipper saints as *Sant* Surdas, *Sant* Tulsidas and of Sufi saints as *Sant* Farid and *Sant* Bulleh Shah. They also speak of Bengali Vaishnava Saints as “*Sant* Jayadeva, *Sant* Chandidas, *Sant* Chaitanya, although Bengali scholars never use the word “*Sant*” for these saints. Hindi scholars even address Moses and Christ as *Sant* Musa and *Sant* Isa.

These incorrect and conveniently manufactured con-jectural definitions, and crude assumptions presented as a factual reality in five of his books is Hew McLeod’s inno-vative postulate for which he and his less than a dozen supporters depend exclusively on his formulations. These interpretations are exclusively based in Hew McLeod’s brain-wave and utterly false assumptions, dressed up in historical and academic garb, which can no doubt mis-lead the ignorant and the prejudiced for some time, but they cannot succeed in distorting and perverting the historical and philosophic truth of Sikhism.

Hew McLeod chooses the eminent *South Indian Maharashtrian Saint*, Namdev (1270-1350), as the first Nirgun Sant of his concept of “*North Indian Nirgun Sant tradition*”. Namdev’s guru Giandeva had died at the age of nineteen, after writing his Gita Commentary and *Amritanubhava*, the greatest mystical work, having a wealth of spiritual wisdom, produced in Marathi language.²² Namdev left the South for missionary journeys to the north and finally settled in Punjab because within two years of his Guru Gyandeva’s death all his companions died,

namely Sopana, Muktabai, Nivritti, Changdev, Khecher, Narhari, Siner, Jagmiti Naga, Chokhe Mela, and Janabai.²³ Namdeva was destined to live for half a century more.²⁴

The second saint of importance Hew McLeod takes up is Raidas (Ravidas). Linguistically and ideologically, Hew McLeod considers “Ravidas closer to Namdev than Kabir. There is no factual truth in this assumption. Any serious study of Ravidas would prove that this is wrong. There is considerable Vaishnava ideological impact on Namdev, which is completely absent in Ravidas. Ravidas’ language; is the pure and simple medieval Hindi which was spoken by the common man in Benaras. Ravidas rarely left Benaras. But ‘Kabir, a Muslim by birth not only travelled a good deal but mixed freely with sufis and other religious groups. The influence of Punjabi and Rajasthani on Kabir is clearly visible. In the Introduction to *Kabir Granthavali*, edited by Shyam Sunder Das, the learned scholar says that he found thirty percent of the words in that manuscript collection were Punjabi words; So the linguistic differences between Kabir’s language and that of Ravidas is but natural’. The influence of Punjabi language in Namdev is clearly visible.

There is ample historical evidence which conclusively proves that Kabir, Ravidas and Sena were Gur-bhais, brother, disciples of the same Guru, Ramananda. But Hew McLeod is in the habit of arrogantly denouncing and rejecting historical truths by merely stating The tradition that he was a disciple of Raman and must be rejected.” Why must it be rejected in the face of over-whelming evidence, he does not explain. But Hew McLeod believes that his readers will reject whatever he says must be rejected. Towards the end of the book also he says: “*Having rejected the janam-Sakhi accounts we are once again reduced to assumptions and conjecture.*” He rejects because he does not believe in honest academically sound historical research work and an honest use of historical facts but he must lean on conjecture and assumption to built up his mumo-jumbo theories, of Nirgun Sant tradition of North India

with which Sikhism is not even remotely connected at all. All the leading authorities and scholars have accepted the historical fact that Ravidas, Kabir and Sena were disciples of Ramanand. *Bhaktamals* of Nabhadas, Priyadas all Kabir Panthi *Sampardayas* and Ramanadi *Sampardaya* literature clearly state that Ramananda was Guru of Ravidas, Kabir and Sena.

The testimony of Bhai Gurdas who was sent by Guru Amar Das to Agra and Benaras during his life time, and probably had the opportunity to meet the direct disciples of Kabir, has .this to say about the spiritual relations of Ramananda, Kabir' and Senaand Ravidas.

Bhai Guidas says:

1. Ramananda the recluse and sarinyasi (Goswami)²⁵ was living in Benaras the life of a devout hermit;
2. He rose up early every morning,
and went to take his bath in the Ganges
3. Kabir lay prostrate on the steps of the river
where the saint 'was to come back after bathing.
4. When Ramanand's feet touched young and tender Kabir
The saint lifted him, embraced him and said:
Repeat and recite "Ram Ram" : Say "Ram, Ram,"
Thus he initiated Kabir ,into the Name of God.
And accepted him, thereafter, as his disciple.
5. *Just* as a Philosopher's stone which touches iron
changes: it and transmutes it, into gold.
And sandalwood, tree by its touch
makes the bigger neem tree fragrant.
6. 'So the Perfect Guru can transfigure
human beings with animal and evil passions
into illuminedangels with their touch.
7. A wondrous revelation enlightens the soul with wonderment.
The Sublime illumines and blends with the sublime.
8. Kabir's soul thus blended with the Spirit of God.

Bhai Gurdas, *Var 10, Pauri 15*

In the next verse Bhai Gurdas says "On hearing the fame of Kabir, Sena, the' barber was the second low caste devotee who became the disciple of Ramanand. Once, when deeply absorbed in meditation, Sena was not able to attend the court but God sent an angel in his appearance

to perform his court duties so perfectly that the ruler was immensely pleased. When Sena went to the court, instead of being reprimanded the ruler honoured him. “26

Bhai Gurdas adds: “It is only after Sena was accepted as a disciple, Ravidas the cobbler, who considered himself the lowliest of low in Benaras, approached Ramananda in utter humility and was accepted as his disciple. Ravidas and Dhanna were the youngest contemporaries of Kabir.” Hew McLeod considers Kabir “a complicated phase of ‘Sant tradition’ of his fantasy conception. He does not accept Ramananda as his Guru. As usual he completely ignores the following eminent scholars of Kabir who have conclusively proved Ramananda to be the Guru of Kabir.

(1) Nabha Das : *Bhaktmal*, (2) Anantdas : *Parichai*, (3) Maulvi Ghulam Sarvar’s *Khafinat-ul-Asfiyii*, (4) Zulfikar Ardistani’s *Dabistan-i-Mazahib* (5) Maulvi Nasiruddin : *Tazkirul-Fukra* (6) Priyadas : *Bhaktirasbodhani*, (7) Dr Hazari Prashad Dwedi, (8) Dr Ram Kumar Verma, (9) Dr Shyamsunder Das, (10) Dr Barthwal, (11) P. Chaturvedi, (12) Dr Ramji Lall : *Kabir Darshan*. Dr Vaudeville in her very scholarly introduction to her work on *Kabir* rightly says “Raman and appears as the sole ‘historical’ link between Kabir and traditional Hinduism.

Dr Ram Kumar Verma, who had studied over 80 manuscripts of Kabir’s hymns rightly concludes that the hymns of Kabir in Guru *Granth* are the most authentic and oldest.²⁷ Hew McLeod completely disregards these authorities. He accepts the theory that he belonged to the tantric caste and class; although he distances him from Nath yogis, he brings him closer to Tantric - Vaishnava-cults. The Sikh Gurus and all the saints including Kabir were strong opponents of Tantric cults, which they call *Sakat Mat*.

I met Dr Ram Kumar Verma twice in the sixties. Uptil then he was of the opinion that the hymns of Kabir in Guru *Granth* are the oldest and most authentic. I pointed out to him that many shlokas of Guru Nanak in which there was no signature line have been taken up as Kabir’s work.²⁸

From all these irrelevant, self-contradictory and un-authenticated statements Hew McLeod jumps to his pre-conceived theory that Kabir, Namdev, Ravidas were Nirgun Sant and not Bhagats (Bhaktas), and Guru Nanak and his successors also were Nirgun Sants (saints) and not founders of Sikhism. He gives no evidence to prove this hypothesis either in this book or in his subsequent books where he goes on repeating his statements without ever proving any of his contentions. In his subsequent books he goes further in merely passing perversely insulting re-marks about successors of Guru Nanak by saying that the “teachings of Guru Nanak’s successors were not in accord with those of the founder of Sikhism.” His repetitive state-ments are:

“Although the teachings of Guru Nanak do indeed constitute a synthesis it is not that synthesis of Hindu-ism and Islam, which finds mentioned in most surveys of his thoughts. It is Sant synthesis, a system which he inherited. “

Hew McLeod :

The Evolution of the Sikh Community P. 7

“Of these three contributors to Sant doctrines the least familiar is the Nath tradition. The stress on Nath antecedents should not imply that the Sants were mere imitators of Nath belief and practice. An outline of Guru Nanak’s system will show how closely its funda-mental features match the insistent emphasis of the Sant”.

Hew McLeod : *The Sikhs*, p. 16-19.

“Nanak was a religious teacher who gave uniquely clear and attractive expression to doctrines and ideals which had developed within the Sant tradition of north India. The Sant tradition must be distinguished from the larger and more diffuse Bhakti tradition with which it has generally been identified. The Sants would have nothing to do with incarnations, idol worship, sacred scriptures, or

pilgrimages.”

Hew McLeod : *Who is a Sikh*, p. 7-8.

Not only Hew McLeod but his Batala-Berkley associates have made repetition of these unproved assertions as a matter of their organized campaign, like the Communists who hold a number of seminars along with their sympathisers only to loudly repeat their Marxist jargon. A number of papers read in a seminar organized in Berkley were published by this group. Only members of this group and a few sympathisers were invited. The papers were published under the name “Sikh .Studies”. Dr Mark Juergensmeyer and Dr N. Gerald Barrier are strong activ-ists of this group. Without defining the word “tradition and Hinduism” they make a glib statement”. “If Sikhism is accepted as a religion vastly from, but similar to the Hindu tradition, then Sikhism vastly complicates our understand-ing of the traditions. The Sikh problem, then, becomes the Hindu problem; and rather than facing that the au-thors of text books dismiss Sikhism as syncreticism.,” Like Hew McLeod they try to fix it in Sant tradition.

Many eminent western scholars of Kabir have made notable contribution to Kabir”studies but without study- ing other monotheistic saints like Jayadeva, Ravidas, Namdev, sena, Pipa. They have been projecting their per-ceptions, ideas and notions about Kabir to other saints also. They have been applying terms and ideas to them which are not applicable. No one in Bengal calls Jayadeva Sant Jayadeva. Even when Kabir refers to jayadeya and Namdev he does not address them as ‘Sant’ but calls them Bhakta (Bhagat) jayadeva and Bhagat Namdev.

SIKH SCRLPTURES EXPOSE THE ABSURDITIES OF HEW MCLEOD’S NIRGUN SANT TRADITION

Hew McLeod’s Sant tradition of North India does not include Sadhana of Sindh and jayadev of Bengal. His north India is not the geographical north India of medieval India but post-partition north India of the present

Bharat excluding Bengal. He includes in his list Namdev of South India but not Sena, Trilochan from Maharashtra and Pipa from Central India. But even a glance at Sikh scriptures presents complete refutation of Hew McLeod's imaginary Sant-tradition which places Bhaktas and Bhakti tradition at a much lower level.

Throughout the *Guru Granth*, Guru Arjan gives captions to the hymns of Kabir, Namdev, Ravidas, Dhanna and others. He uses the word "Bhagat (Bhakta)" as an appellation of their spiritual status throughout the *Guru Granth*. Nowhere is the word "Sant" used for them. Even when these saints refer to their predecessors, they address them as *Bhagats* and not as *Sants*. Nowhere in the writings of these Saints is the word *Sant-mat* used for their doctrines. They call their discipline Bhakti (Bhagati) and consider the Bhagats far above ordinary Sants (saints).

In the beginning of the Raga from where Bhagat Bani begins, a collective caption is generally given in *Guru Granth* :

1. *Rag Asa Bani Bhagatait ki*
Kabir jio, Namdev jio, Ravidas jio.
Hymns of the Bhagats in Rag Asa Kabirji, Namdevji, Ravidasji
2. (a) *Dhanasan Bani Bhagat Kabir ji ki*
Bani of Bhagat Kabir in Rag Dhanasari
- (b) *Dhanasan Bani Bhagat Namdev ji*
Bani of Bhagat Namdev in Rag Dhanasari
- (c) *Dhanasan Bani Bhagat Ravidas ji Ki*
Bani of Bhagat Ravidas in Rag Dhanasari

This is the pattern followed throughout the *Guru Granth*. As Sheikh Farid belonged to orthodox Islamic Sufi tradition, he is not addressed as Bhagat, but only as Sheikh.

1. *Rag Suhi Bani Sheikh Farid ki*
Bani of Sheikh Farid in Rag Suhi
2. *Shlok Sheikh Farid ke*

Sholkas of Sheikh Farid

The Bhatts did not belong to the Bhakti tradition. They were professional court-poets. They are addressed as Bhatts. The Minstrels like Satta and Balwand were minsterls and singers of the durbar of the Gurus. They are addressed as Dooms (minstrels).

The theory of Hew McLeod and his Christian mis-sionary associates of Batala-Berkley that the Bhagats were idol worshippers and avatar worshippers while those who are known as *Sants* were worshippers of Absolute God becomes preposterous and ridiculous on the face of these glaring facts which conclusively prove that these medieval saints were addressed only as Bhagats and never as Sants. Ravidas pays homage to his predecessors: Jayadev, Namdev, Kabir and Sena and calls them Bhagats and never addresses them Sants. Bhagat Dhanna tells us about his predecessor saints, Kabir, the low caste weaver, the down trodden Ravidas, the cobbler. Sena, the barber, on hearing about whose achievements Dhanna the Jat took up Bhagati (Bhakti) “*eh bidhi sunkai jatro uth Bhagati laga. (Bhagat Dhanna : Adi Guru Granth, Rag Asa, p. 488).*”

The word “*Sant-mat*” is not found in the hymns of Kabir, Namdev, Ravidas or any other Bhakta. Sheikh Farid was religious preceptor, a Pir of Chistiya *silsila*. It would have been incorrect to call him either a Sant or Bhakta, although present day Hindu scholars address him as Sant Farid, using the word in the sense of the English word “saint”.

Kabir called his sadhana (discipline and practice) Bhakti :

Kahu Kabir bhagati kar paya
Bhole bhae mile raghu raya.

Says Kabir, it is only through Bhakti
I have achieved the Presence of God
through innocent love and devotion
I was able to achieve communion with the Lord.

A.G.Kabir, Gauri, p.324

Jayadev and Namdev were blessed

By the grace of the Guru;
Through intense devotion of Bhakti
They achieved realization of God

A.G. Kabir, *Bilawal*, p. 856

Says Kabir, to attain
Life's highest spiritual state (*Jivan pada*)
Devote yourself to Bhagti of God.

A.G. Kabir, *GaurJi*, p. 338

Kabir, Ravidas and other medieval saints whose writings are found in *Guru Granth Sahib*, repeatedly say that their path and discipline is Bhakti and the most enlightened saints are Bhaktas of God. The word *Sant* is never used in the sense explained in a distorted manner by Hew McLeod and his group. That is the obvious reason why they do not quote a single line from the hymns of either Namdev or Kabir or Ravidas. Kabir uses the word 'Sant' for holymen and pious men. He comments on those Brahmins who pretend to be saintly or holytnen :
Thus

They wear three yards long *dhoti*
And also a sacred thread of triple cord,
Around their neck they wear a rosary,
And carry *lota* pretending to be holymen;
Do not consider them to be
Sants of God (*har ke sant*)
They are the *thugs* of Benaras.

A.G. Kabir, *Rag Asa*, 2

Kabir addresses in his hymns, holymen, seekers of God and Truth as *Sant* : *Keh kabir suno re santo*, Says Kabir: "Listen O *Sants*" Popular pious devotees are called *Sant Jan*

Ravidas uses the word *Sant* for religious men who are holymen, and in the same verse addresses unholy and wicked men as *asant*. Kabir also uses the word *Sant* (holy- saintly) and *asant* (unholy, sinner) in the following verse:

Sant milai kichh suniai kahiai
miliai asant mast kar rahiai

On meeting the *sant* (saint)
one should talk to him and hear him,

If one meets an *asant*, sinner and unholyman
One should remain silent.

A.G. Kabir, *Gond*, I

In the face of all these clearly visible facts to call the Sikh Gurus “*Sant*” is an absurdity of the extreme type. The following are the additional facts which makes this theory of Hew McLeod dubbing Guru Nanak and his successors “*Sant*”, as he interprets the word, fantastic and ludicrous.

In all their hundreds of hymns Guru Nanak and Guru Amar Das have used the word *sant* only twice or thrice. Guru Nanak uses the word “*Sant-sabha*” only for a gathering of saints, twice, so far as I know. When Guru Nank uses the word “*Sant sabha*” for an assembly of Nath-panthi yogis with whom he held his dialogue recorded by him in “*Siddha-Gosht*”, the yogis in turn call Guru Nanak an “*Avadhut*”. The words *Sant* here stands for *Nathpanthi* holyman.

The word *Sant-mat* or *Sant-parampara* (*sant* tradition) are not used by any Guru in *Guru Granth*. The fourth, fifth and ninth Gurus addressed “*Saints*” of Sikh history as “*Sadh*” or *Sant*, and the character of a *Sadh* or *Sant* in Sikh tradition is described in many hymns.

Many words are used for “*Saints*” of different creeds in north India such as *sheikh*, *dervish*, *bhagauti*, *aparas*, *sadh*, *giani*, *swami*, *mahapurush*. All these words are re-defined in the light of Sikh doctrines by the Sikh Gurus in *Guru Granth*. In the same way many attributive Names of Deities like Krishna, Vishnu, Shiva like Madu Sudhan, Shiva, Vasudeva are reinterpreted and redefined as attributive names of Ultimate Reality, God. The consciously calculated and academically organized campaign to upgrade the “*Sants*” and downgrade the *Bhagats*, and identify “*Sants*” with Sikh Prophets is based only on fantasy whims and conjectural assumptions of Hew McLeod and his group. He has made these unsubstantiated ‘clumsy theories a weapon to demean Sikhism, Sikh Prophets and distort Sikh doctrines and history. But such campaigns

based entirely on malicious missionary prejudices, hostile and malafide intention can no doubt attract the enemies and vile critics of Sikhs and Sikhism, and perhaps some for-eigners who are completely ignorant of Sikhism, but their glamorous structure based on falsehood and mischievous distortions cannot last long. It will completely collapse in the face of irrefutable facts and truth of Sikhism.

Sikhism is proud of the fact that it shares many mystical experiences with the highest spiritual achievements of orthodox Muslims and Sufi dervishes like Sheikh Farid and the great achievements in this field of Ramanand, Jayadev, Kabir, Ravidas, Namdev and other mystics, but Sikhism does not accept their earlier religious practices and modes of worship.

But Guru Nanak and his successors go far beyond these great saints. These saints were neither able to pre-serve the authentic core of their mystical experiences and teachings, nor find a successor of their own spiritual status; nor were they able to organize their followers into a religious organization which could uphold and systemtize their teachings. Most of their disciples have preserved their earlier teachings against which they had virtually turned their back.

Although the medieval Bhaktas transcended Hinduism and Islam, yet their immediate followers kept them divided by geographical and caste barriers, and even when these Bhaktas belonged to lowest castes they were divided by their caste divisions.

Guru Nanak and his successors have not only saved their own most precious works from becoming extinct or distorted, but have preserved the authentic works of the Bhaktas and given them the same sanctity and spiritual status which they gave to their own writings. Sheikh Farid, the orthodox Muslim Sufi, Ravidas the cobbler born as *pariah*, disowned by society are as greatly revered as the Gurus themselves. Any Sikh who dares to say that the works of these Bhaktas are inferior in sanctity and spiritual status of *Gurbani* is excommunicated and thrown

out of the Sikh Panth; so dear and sacred are these Bhaktas and Sufis to us. Bhakti in the Sikh tradition was called *Gurmukh Bhakti*, *Nirmal Bhakti*, *Nirankar Bhakti* and even *Allah-ki-Bhakti*. Guru Amar Das expresses this uniqueness in the following words :

*bhagati niriili Allah ki
japai gur vichar,
nanak naw hirdai vasai
bhai bhagati nau savar.*

Unique is the *Bhakti* of *Allah*
It is revealed through contemplation
Of the Word and Wisdom of the Guru,
Says Nanak : His Name then dwells in the heart.
In reverence and devotional *Bhagati* (*Bhaktz*)
The mystery of His Name is revealed.

A.G. Guru Amar Das, *Asa*, Ash, p. 430.

Guru Nanak also says:

*bin bhagati nahi satgur payila
bin bhagan nahi bhagat hart
bin bhaga sat sang na paiyai
karam milai hari nam hart*

Without devotional Bhakti
Satguru cannot be achieved
Without gracious good fortune
Bhakti cannot be attained
Without divine favour companionship of the holy
cannot be achieved
Only through the grace of God (*Karam*)
can the Name of God be achieved.

A. G. Guru Nanak, *Rag Basant*, p. 1172.

Bhakti according to Guru Nanak's ideal is the moral and spiritual foundation of Sikhism to this day. Bhakti, here means intense and pure love of God which transcends all self externals.

The sacred writings of the Gurus are unique and different in some ways from the works of these eminent Bhaktas. These Bhaktas wrote on mystical, ethical and a few social themes of protest against hypocrisy, corruption and human degradation. Beyond these themes they never went in their writings. But the Sikh Gurus have given a complete philosophy of life. They have commented on

political, social and cultural challenges of their times. They have given profound reflection and doctrinal concepts about the universe, the creation, nature, man in human society and all the problems of life and death - and also of existence beyond death. Guru Nanak inspired a line of nine successors each of whom was great, unique and true embodiment of the Spirit of the Founder. There was one illumined-Consciousness in them working out the organization and destiny of a nation. They differed in age, their methods of meeting the challenges, but they were one in Spirit and one in ideology and idealism. To dismiss the Sikh Gurus as petty Saints and present them as contradicting one another, as Hew McLeod has done is the height of intellectual dishonesty and academic absurdity, the evil intentions of which are clearly visible to those who have eyes to see, and knowledge to sift the truth from the false constructions of Hew McLeod and his organized group. I would like to conclude this chapter by saying that prejudiced and hostile writers like Hew McLeod and his group can fool some people for some time with their irrelevant, irrational and absurd theories about Sikh history and doctrines but they cannot fool all the people all the time.

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1. James Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. 12.
2. *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Micropaedia Vol. X).
3. Edmund Burke in "*International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*", McMillan, Vol. 2.
4. James Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, N.P. Williams on Christian Tradition, Vol. 2.
5. Glossary of Terms in Sri Aurobindo's writings. In Monier William's Sanskrit Dictionary another meaning is given which gives ideological base to a Group. It means "transmission of established doctrines or interpretation from one teacher to another. In Sikhism transmission of the interpretation of *Guru Granth* interpretation from Bhai Mani Singh onwards is called *Sampardai arth* or interpretation handed down from one teacher to another.
6. Annermarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, p. 199.
7. *ibid.*, p. 101.
8. *Avatamsaka Sutra*.

9. Anand K. Coomaraswamy, *Buddha And the Gospel of Buddhism*, p. 231.
10. Dr Hazari Prashad was Head of the Hindi Department, Punjab University, for some years. We met a number of times. He related to me this incident and many other beautiful anecdotes about the Poet and his experiences at Shantiniketan. Later when he was Vice Chancellor of Benaras Hindu University, he invited me to the University for lectures.
11. P.D. Barthwal, *Nirgun School of Hindi Poetry*, Preface, p. IX.
12. *ibid.*, IX-X.
13. *ibid.*, p. 32-33.
14. *ibid.*, p. 89.
15. *ibid.*, p. 216-217.
16. Parusram Chaturvedi, *Uttari Bharat Ki Sant Parampara*, p. 3-4.
17. *ibid.*
18. RD. Ranade, *Mysticism in Maharashtra* Chapters on Gyandev and Namdev are indispensable sources on Namdev, Sena, Trilochan - the three Bhaktas whose hymns are found in Guru Granth (see part II, Ch apt. VII to IX) Professor Ranade's comparison with Western mysticism and Bhakti move-ment is also very illuminating.
19. *ibid.*, p. 425.
20. Hew McLeod, "*Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion*", p. 229.
21. *ibid.*, p. 151-53.
22. Besides Professor RD. Ranade's book on Namdev, see: M.A. Macauliffe: *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. VI; Nicol Mac: *Psalm of Maratha Saints*; *Bhaktamal : Nabhadass, Mahapati : Bhaktivijaya* (Engl. Tr. by Justin E. Abbott) and N.R Godbola, Dr Prabhakar Machwe : *Namdev's Life and Philosophy*.
23. RD. Ranade, *Mysticism in Maharashtra*, p. 32.
24. After the death of Giandev, his brother, Nivirtinath (who had become a disciple of Gorakhnath's disciple and was also Guru of Giandeva) and the second brother Sopandev, his younger sister, Muktabai all passed away within a few months of each other. They were all in their twenties. Namdev was just 27 years old and he has expressed his sorrow in his *abhangas*. His devotees Goda and Vithal express their sorrow at his departure saying: "Nama has left Pundarpur. He has orphaned us."
25. Goswami was an Acharya of Vaishnava sampardaya. The Punjabi word Gosain means Goswami. Ramananda belonged to Ramanya Vaishnava sampardaya which was puritan in

habits and the leaders were sannyasins.

26. (i) *Sunpartap Kabir dO., ditja sikh hoa sain nai prem bhagti ratin karai, bhalkai rai duarai jai.*

Bhai Gurdas, Var. 10, Pauri 16

- (ii) Sena, the barber was in the service of the King of Bedar. He was so given to God-devotion that he once gave no heed to the king's invitation to shaving, while he was engaged in meditation. He lived about the year 1448 A.D. and could say that he could show God to others as in a mirror.

27. Dr Ram Kumar Verma, *Sant Kabir*, p. 25.

28. The following well known shloka from Guru Nanak's *Asa-ki-*

Var is found in a number of Kabir's collected books.

balhari gur apne deohari sad var

jini manas te devte kie karat na lagi var.

CHAPTER 7

**HEW McLEOD'S FALSE CONSTRUCTION ABOUT
NANAK PANTHIS, GURU HARGOBIND, KHALSA
HOLY ORDER AND SAHAJDHARIS**

The Mughals, the Afghans, and following them many Hindu scribes of Mughal courts called Guru Nanak and all his successors, *Nanak panthts*. In the Mughal court records and the writings of non-Sikh scholars, the appellation "Nanak panthi" was attached not only to Guru Nanak and his immediate successors but even to Guru Hargobind, Guru Gobind Singh and Banda.

The well-known author of *Dabistan-i-Mazahib* who met Guru Hargobind and Guru Har Rai calls all the seven Gurus and their followers *Nanak-panthts* because this was the appellation with which the Muslim rulers addressed all Guru Nanak's successors, who ascended the pontifical throne of Guru Nanak and their followers. But in the very first sentence of this work he makes it clear that within the Sikh society they are known as *Gursikhs* and they are ideologically different and distinct from the Hindus. He says: "*Nanak-panthis* (the followers of Nanak), who are known as *Guru-Sikhs* (disciples of the Masters) have no faith in idols or temples of idols. Nanak affirmed the Unity of God-head, and things spoken of in the Mohammedan Law, and he believed also in transmigration. He held wine and flesh of swine to be unlawful, and had given up animal food (meat-eating), and used to teach refraining from hurting all living beings. "¹ In the ideal Sikh *sangat* or what is known as *Guru-ka Langar*, meat is still strictly prohibited. The impression which the author of *Dabistan-i-Mazahib* got was that Sikh monotheism and some spiritual doc-

trines resembled Islamic doctrines, but such doctrines as transmigration of soul which were predominantly Hindu in nature were also there. We will discuss this in details in Chapter 12 of this book on doctrines.

The Mughal records continued to refer to Sikh Gu-rus as *Nanak panthis*. In their eyes, Guru Gobind Singh, Banda and the Sikhs after that were all *Nanak panthts*. There are some letters of Aurangzeb in Rajasthan archives which refer to Guru Gobind Singh as *Nanak panthi*. The Newsletters written by Hindu and Muslim official news writers known as *waqai-nawts*, *waqai-nigar*, *akhbar-nawts* called *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla* preserved in Jaipur and Bikaner archives have now been published. We quote be-low some passages from the *akhbars* of Bahadur Shah, Jahandar Shah and Farrukh-Siyar.²

October 30, 1708 - Saturday (26 Shaban, 2nd Bahadurshahi, A.H. 1120: "On the death of Guru Gobind Singh the emperor ordered that a mourning dress be sent to the son of the *Guru - Nanak-panthi* (Reference is to Ajit Singh adopted son of Mata Sundari).

April 28, 1710 - Friday (10 Rabi-ul-Awwal : 4th Bahadurshahi A.H. 1122) : Urgent orders should also be communicated to the faujdar of Eminabad that in col-laboration with Rustam Khan, the dewan of Lahore prov-ince, he should chastise all *Nanak-panthis* (followers of Nanak) .

July 6, 1710 - Thursday (20 Jamadi-ul-Awwal, 4^h Bahadurshahi A.H. 1122) Hidayat Kesh, the chief news-writer, presented the following verse of rebel (Banda)

azamat-i-Nanak Guru hamzahar O batun ast
padshah-i-din-o-duniya ap Sacha sahib ast

The greatness of Guru Nanak has been established inwardly and outwardly. The True Guru is the King of religion and the world

July 30, 1710, Sunday (14 Jamadi-ul-Sani, 4th Bahadurshahi A.H. 1127) : In accordance with the

submis-sion of Hidayat-ullah-Khan *daroga* of the *harkaras*, Shankar Rao *harkara* of Akbarabad, who was with the Emperor, was deputed to the contingent of Firozkhani who has been appointed to punish the *Nanak-panthis*.

August 14, 1710, Monday (29 Jamadi-ul-Sani, 4th Bahadarshahi A.H. 1122) : Sayyid Wajib-ud-din was de-puted for administering punishment to the *Nanak panthis*.

August 28, 1710, Monday (14 Rajab, 4th Bahadurshahi A.H. 1122) : *Farmans* were issued in the name of the Zamindar of Srinagar (Garhwal) and Sirmur regarding the administering of punishment to the *Nanak panthis*.

December 17, 1710, Sunday (7, Zi Qada, 4th Bahadurshahi, A.H. 1122) : The Emperor ordered that *Nanak panthis* who were in captivity be released. In fu-ture, no *Nanak panthis* be accused, and whosoever was even openly a *Nanak panthi*, Jazia might not be realized from him at a double rate and he should not be interefered with.

Thus throughout these records, long after the pass-ing away of Guru Gobind Singh in 1707 and the death of Banda on June 10, 1716, the Sikhs were called *Nanak panthis*, and Sikhs (Khalsa, Udasis and other groups) were considered to be one people and the one Panth that is *Nanak panthi* in the terminology of the Muslim rulers.

Hew McLeod quotes verses 4-6 from Guru Gobind Singh's autobiography chapter 5 in his first book (PV) without translation of these verses. In all the books written after this he contradicts and refutes what is stated by Guru Gobind Singh in these verses and uses all his inge-nuity of distortions, misstatements to project fantastic theo-ries about the relations and ideals of the ten Gurus and gives to his reader a completely perverted view of the Evolution of Sikhism in Guru-period and subsequently. The following translation of *Bachiter Natak* verses of Guru Gobind Singh, out of which 4, 5, 6 are quoted by Hew McLeod, refute and dismantle all the theories he has put forward to create confusion about the Evolution of Sikh ism and oneness of the Spirit and doctrines of the Gurus.

1

Dissension and bitterness increased day by day,
 Within the ruling dynasty of Bedi kings.
 No one could control their inevitable destiny.
 The course of karmic fate took such a turn
 That they lost a large portion of their kingdom.

2

Such was the moral degeneration of times,
 The character of the *Brahmins* was debased to that of
shudras
 The *Kshatriyas* lost their will to fight for *dharma*
 And took up the profession of *Vaishyas*.
 Some *Vaishyas* took up the profession of *Kshatriyas*.
 The *shudras* aspired to act like Brahmins.

3

The Bedis now possessed just twenty villages;
 In these villages they lived by farming.
 Many years passed in this way.
 Then came the time of Guru Nanak's birth.

4

In this historic family of Bedis,
 Was born the Apostle of God, Nanak Rai.
 He gave spiritual enlightenment and peace,
 To all his disciples and devotees.
 He always bestowed on them his benediction
 And helped them in their need and affliction.

5

Guru Nanak was Founder of this Religion: *Dharma*
 He gave a New Way of Life to seekers of Truth.
 Those who entered Guru Nanak's Path: *marag*
 Are never afflicted by sins and sorrows.

6

God dispelled the sorrows and afflictions
 Of those who enter the Path of Guru Nanak. .
 They are never troubled by sorrow and agony
 They never fall in the snare of death.

7

The Light and Spirit of Guru Nanak
 Was infused in the body of Guru Angad.
 Who developed the Master's Panth in abundance.
 Then Guru Nanaks' apostolic Spirit
 Came to be known as Amar Das;
 It was a unique spiritual transfiguration:
 One replendent Lamp lighting another lamp.

8

When the time for prophetic bequest came,
 The crown of Apostolic sovereignty
 Was bestowed on Ram Das of Sodhi family;
 This distinguished scion of Sodhi family
 Thus received the Light of Guru Nanak,
 As predicted in the ancient prophecy;
 Amar Das departed to the heavenly Abode.

9

The Enlightened seers know that
 Sri Nanak's Spirit was embodied in Angad,
 The Light of Angad was recognized in Ram Das.
 Only the enlightened saints
 Understand this phenomenon;
 Ignorant fools cannot comprehend it.

10

Foolish and ignorant persons
 Consider all Sikh Gurus to be different,
 From one another in mind and Spirit.
 Few enlightened saints and seers
 Know them to be one in inner being and Spirit.
 Only those who understand this essential Truth,
 Acquire spiritual enlightenment and perfection.
 One cannot achieve any perfection on this Path.

Guru Gobind Singh, *Bachitar Natak*, Adhya 5, Verse 1-10

Bhai Nand Lall affirms this oneness of thought and Spirit
 of all ten Gurus thus:

He who is Nanak is also Angad
 He is also Amar Das;
 Most Excellent in virtues and learning He is also Ram Das,
 He is also Arjan.
 He is also Hargobind;
 Merciful, Bountiful, Most Excellent. He is also Hari Rai:
 To whom was revealed,
 The exterior and interior of everyone.
 He is also Hari Krishan
 Who is held high in divine dignity.
 He removed the sorrow
 Of every afflicted plaintive.
 He is Guru Tegh Bahadur
 From whose Light was manifest
 The divine Guru Gobind Singh.

He is Guru Gobind Singh
 Who verily is Nanak.
 The Divine Word (*Shabad*) of the Gurus
 Are precious jewels and pearls.

Bhai Nand Lall, *Jot-Bigas*, 23-30

Kavi Sainapati another court poet of Guru Gobind Singh writes in “*Cur Sobha Granth*” of spiritual and mystical oneness of all Gurus.

You are Guru Nanak, You are Guru Angad;
 You are Guru Amar Das, You are Guru Ram Das,
 You are Guru Arjan, You are Gur Hargobind,
 You are Guru Hari Rai, Hari Krishan also
 You are, The ninth Guru in this dark *kali-age*
 Controlled His spiritual powers
 You are Tegh Bahadur
 Who covered the shame of the country
 By becoming a protective sheet (*chaddar*) of all
 You are the tenth Master, Guru Gobind Singh
 You have come, Lord, as a Saviour of the world.
 You are glorified O Tegh Bahadur
 In all the three worlds
 You have saved the honour of the destitute
 And given protection to
 The tilak, the sacred thread and the temples of Hindus.
 Mercifully you have immortalized Your sacrifice
 For *dharma*, righteousness, You went to heaven;
 Gobind Singh became the Guru thereafter.

Kavi Sainapati, Gur Sobha Granth, p. 65. 68

Hew McLeod bases his theories of first calling Guru Nanak and his successors as *Nanak panthis*, and splitting even these into those who were pure *Nanak panthi* - like Guru Angad and then calling Amar Das and Ram Das as those who re-introduced Hindu ideals, purely on conjecture, prejudice and slander. He ignores authentic original sources, dismissing them as orthodox views, and like Ernest Trumpp has the audacity of calling his irrational, untenable and historically absurd statements scientific history. The minimum anything which claims to be scientific must have is “intellectual honesty and reputation of well-established historical facts by giving new valid evidence. Hew McLeod is unexcelled in cavilling, posing irrelevant

and fatuous questions and making his unhistorical and unauthentic statements, his crude and obnoxious theories, which, either those who are inherently prejudiced against Sikhism will believe, or those who are utterly ignorant and blind to factual truth about Sikhism may accept.

He further splits Sikh history by his outright nonsensical and repulsive theory that Guru Hargobind took up the sword for no other reason than that the Jats who formed the majority of those converted to Sikhism compelled Guru Hargobind to fall in line with the sword-happy savage instincts of the Jats. In order to prove that the non-Jat Sikhs disapproved of Guru Hargobind's military resistance to Mughal onslaught on the Sikh Gurus, he gives an utterly clumsy and mutilated translation of a verse of Bhai Gurdas, who wrote it to uphold that only the slanderers of Guru Hargobind thought in such a way. But actually he was a great prophet and lover of Truth who was spiritually very exalted and perfectly God-illuminated prophet.

Text: Bhai Gurdas Var 26, Pauri 4

1. *dharamsal kar bahida*
ikat than na tike tikaya,
2. *patshah ghar anvade*
gadh chadhia, patshah chadaya.
3. *ummat mahal na panvadi*
natha phire na dare daraya
4. *manji beh santokhda*
kute rakh shikar khilaya
5. *bani kar sun ganvade*
kathe na sunai na ganv sunaya
6. *sewak pas na rakhiyan*
dokhi dusht agu muh laya
7. *sach na Luke lukaya*
charan kanval sikh bhanvar lubhaya
8. *ajar jarai na ap janaya*

Hew McLeod's Distorted Translation

1. The earlier Gurus sat peacefully in
dharamsalas, this one roams the land.
2. Emperors visited their homes with reverence.
this one they cast into prison.

3. No rest for his followers, ever active,
their restless Master has fear of none.
4. The earlier Gurus sat graciously blessing,
this one goes hunting with dogs.
5. They had servants who harbored no malice
this one encourages scoundrels
6. Yet none of these charges conceals the truth
The Sikhs are still drawn as bees to the lotus
7. The truth stands firm, eternal, changeless
and pride still lies subdued. 3

The Sikhs, p. 93
Who is a Sikh?, p. 23-24

Correct Translation

1. Earlier Gurus built their pontific abode: (*dharam-sala*) and
sat there preaching peacefully; (Hargobind) stays not in
his pontific mansion but goes about from place to place.4
2. Emperors came to meet earlier Gurus.
Hargobind has mounted his fort (*garh-chariah*)
The Emperor (Shah Jahan) sent his armies to attack him.6
3. Devotees find him not in his mansion (*mahals*)
He runs from one place to another7
He is not afraid of the mighty rulers
who use their power to strike fear in him.8
4. Earlier Gurus sat on the pontific throne
Leading a life of peace and contentment9
(Hargobind in royal style) keep dogs for sports
And goes out for hunting wild animals.10
5. Earlier Gurus composed, recited and sang *Gurbani*,
He neither composes nor recites nor sings *Banill*
6. He does not keep pious and humble devotees around him,
He patronizes, wicked, offensive militant leaders. (*agu*) 12
7. The truth about Guru Hargobind
Can never be clouded by these false allegations
The lotus-feet (*charan-kamal*) of Hargobind
Still attracts the Sikhs like honey-bees.
8. Guru Hargobind endures the unendurable (*ajar jare*)
(By his patient and majestic control of spiritual powers
in the highest Sikh traditions by not using them even when
provoked: *ajarjare*).
He never reveals his inner spiritual power and greatness.

Hew McLeod does not give the translation of the last line, in both his books, because it explains the real character

and personality of Guru Hargobind, which he wants to explain in terms of scandalous allegations mentioned in it.

Guru Hargobind was not the only victim of such false allegations. A complete charter of allegations denouncing even Guru Arjan Dev called *Mahazarnama*, a list of complaints was presented to Akbar by Mullahs and Brahmins and other enemies of the Guru, but on investigation Akbar found it to be false and rejected it. Guru Arjan has written a whole *Shabad* on it : *Mehjar jhutha kila ap* : "God Himself falsified the charter of complaints presented in the court of Akbar". God also protected Guru Arjan from armed attacks of Sulhi Khan and two more similar attempts. Sulhi Khan died on the way to Amritsar. All these incidents are recorded in Guru Arjan's hymns. It is obviously such attacks which prompted Guru Arjan to keep his people in defence preparedness.

Guru Arjan decided to give armed training to Hargobind and all the military commanders of his army were enlisted by him. Hew McLeod is conscious of the importance of Bhai Gurdas about whose contributions he says, "they are authorized Sikh canon." In addition to their beauty of expression the *Vars* contain much information concerning the life and beliefs of early Panth.¹³ He had deliberately avoided quoting from Var 26, pauri 34, which completely refutes and controverts his utterly absurd theory that because Guru Hargobind was different in his method of facing the challenges of armed attacks of the Mughals; he was different morally and spiritually, and with him the Panth as a Religious order was also different from the Panth of Guru Nanak, whom he persistently calls a Hindu Sant without anywhere substantiating his utterly absurd remarks and baseless theories.

Guru Hargobind was a member of Bhai Gurdas' family. Hargobind was grandson of Bibi Bhani, first cousin of Bhai Gurdas and no one knew better about Guru Arjan and Guru Hargobind than this Sage-philosopher and Patriarch of the

historic family. We will give the translation of the other verse found in Var 26 Pauri 34, which he quotes.

1. This is how the spiritual lineage of Baba Nanak commenced and developed; the Guru's mystical experiences (*parichai*) passing on to the disciple in full realization.
2. Guru Angad was spiritually born from the limb of the mystical body of Guru Nanak. The disciple was accepted as perfectly illumined and was installed as successors Guru.
3. From Guru Angad's Mystical person arose Amar Das as the Satguru (True Guru) and came to be accepted as Satguru.
4. From Guru Amar Das' Light emerged Guru Ram Das, who through service and devotion merged into the Guru-Spirit.
5. From Guru Ram Das grew Guru Arjan just as a tree of Ambrosia (*Amrit*) bears fruits of ambrosia (*amrit*).
6. By the divine Will of the Primal-Being, God, the Light of Guru Arjun passed into Hargobind.
7. This truth cannot remain hidden,
From those who have insight and spiritual illumination.

Bhai Gurdas, 26 : 34

Hew McLeod completely ignores this verse number 34 from the same Var No. 26, which he quotes in two successive books, because it indicates that there was spiri-tually, mystically and historically no difference between Guru Nanak and Guru Hargobind as prophets. The same idea is expressed in Var 38, pauri 20 in which Bhai Gurdas says Guru Hargobind was embodiment of the Eternal Spirit of God (Govind).

In Var 39, pauri 4, Bhai Gurdas once more empha-sizes the point that Hargobind was given Guruship not because he had distinguished himself as an outstanding devotee and passed tests of severe trials, but he received Guruship from the Perfect and Supreme Being as His divine Apostolic gift.

par braham, puran braham
adi purakh ades aloa
Har Gobind guru chhatr chandoa

The Supreme Being, the Perfect Being
The Primal Lord, gave divine command

That the canopy and umbrella
Of Spiritual sovereignty of Guruship
Shall adorn the person of Hargobind.

Bhai Gurdas : *Var* 39 : 4

Thus, Guru Hargobind was a born prophet, who was destined to be the Perfect Guru according to the Will of God. In the face of this testimony of Bhai Gurdas, who knew him as perhaps no other person knew him, the hostile criticism of Hew McLeod based partly on his demeaning conjectures and assumptions and partly on wrong translations, and distorted interpretations, stands exposed threadbare.

Hew McLeod suggest in the last three books that by building Baoli Sahib at Goindwal and the Sacred Pool and *Hari mandir*, (Golden Temple) Guru Amar Das and Guru Ram Das ceased to believe in “interior pilgrimage”, and they were drifting towards Hindu practices to make Sikhism popular among the masses. No scholar having minimum respect for moral principles and truth of academic studies and research could indulge in such malicious comments.

The Hindus, over the centuries sanctified some rivers, mountains, caves and peaks by associating them with some mythical gods and goddesses and the yogis and ascetics living in these places made them places of pilgrimage. Thus grew the 68 Hindu places of pilgrimage which are not recognized holy by the Sikhs.

The Sikh Gurus foresaw that the places where the Sikh prophets lived and moved would become places of pilgrimage. So in Goindwal and Amritsar they built ideal places of worship which could become holy cities and ideal places of pilgrimage. Cleaning the body with water as a preparation for meditation is important, but any bathing without meditation and prayer was worthless. Some pious Hindus sometimes bathed thrice a day, but that did not clean their mind. The mind can be purified only by prayer and meditation.

In Sikhism, not only pilgrimage, but even ordinary bathing (ablution), charity (dan) and other acts of piety are useless if they are connected with one's ego, vanity and pride of wealth and not with meditation, humility and interior life of contemplating God's Presence within our-self.

The Sikh Gurus not only redefined all the common religious terms used in various sects of Hinduism and among yogis and Buddhists but also gave them new meaning, new ideological interpretation in the light of Sikhism and a new spiritual content in the light of their own doctrines and experiences. The popular words they defined were Guru, *shishya* (Sikh), *Omkar*, *Dan* (charity), *dhyān*, *sunya*, *sahaj*, *tap* and *tapasaya* etc. The Gurus repeatedly explain what true *tapasya*, true *sannyasa* and true *yoga* is in the light of Sikhism. Similarly, Guru Nanak and Guru Amar Das have redefined *tirath* (pilgrimage). We will quote only from Guru Amar Das who according to Hew McLeod re-introduced Hindu practices of "pilgrimage" by building the Baoli Sahib at Goindwal to popularize Sikhism. Guru Amar Das says

antar mal lagi, bahu dujai bhae

tat tirath disantar bhavai

aharhkar hor vadherai

haumai mal lavanya

Full of impurities in his heart and soul,

Because of his attachment to unspiritual interests;

If he wanders to places of pilgrimage,

In far off distant lands,

In vanity, pride and self-conceit,

His egoism increases even more

And he pollutes himself with more impurities.

A.G. Guru Amar Das, *Magh Asht*, 3

In another place Guru Amar Das says, "Those who have nothing but hypocrisy in their hearts and call themselves *Sants* by putting on holy robes (*hirdai jin kai kapat vasai bahron sant kahahi*) can never get rid of their basic desires and cravings and end up in despair. If such people merely wander to holy places of pilgrimage they only increase their impurities of egoism and self-

conceit within their own Self.” (A. G. *Guru Amar Das, Magh Asht* : 3).” “The interior pilgrimage”, says Guru Amar Das, “is the light of divine knowledge within us which is revealed by the true Guru. When one bathes in it, all impurities are removed and the mind becomes pure, and this is bathing the mind, heart and soul within the pool of Immortalizing Nectar (Amritsar). (A. G. *Guru Amar Das : Vadhans Shl:*)

The Shrine which Guru Amar Das built necessitated that whoever bathes in the well having 84 steps must meditate on the *Japji* on each step and thus complete his inner ablution which is absolutely necessary for an outer and inner pilgrimage to a holy place. The Gurus never gave up their doctrine of inner pilgrimage under any cir-cumstances.

THE KHALSA HOLY ORDER AND THE SAHAJDHARIS

Hew McLeod makes misleading and unsubstantiated statements about every Sikh prophet and passes intolerably obnoxious remarks about their greatest achievements. The most insulting and impudent suggestion which Hew McLeod makes is that long hair, the sword, had to be taken up by Guru Gobind Singh because of Jat-supremacy among the Sikhs since Guru Arjun. He says, “Uncut hair was a Jat custom, which during and prior to this period was evidently observed by Muslim Jats, as well as Sikh Jats. The bearing of arms, represented by the dagger, was also a Jat practice, and one which received ample encouragement from the events of the eighteenth century.”

McLeod tries to suggest that Guru Gobind Singh instead of introducing any religious ideals and symbols introduced tribal symbols of *Jats* who were not at all re-spected in society. We will deal with this in chapter on Caste in Sikhism, but here it is sufficient to say that none of the books he gives as reference in support of his theory and none of the books on Jats, and in none of the purely Jat states like Haryana, Bharatpur etc. have the Jats been distinguished for applying any sanctity to hair, beard or

the sword. The Jats took up their hair styles and head dresses and use of sword from the Rajputs like the Gujjars, another war-like tribe. The Punjabi Classic *Hir Ranja*, of Waris Shah makes it clear that the Jats inspite of their qualities of hardihood, pleasant charms were treated as *kamins*, menials and low-caste people. There is not a single sentence, not a single word in these books which indicates even remotely that Guru Gobind Singh was so unimaginative, so submissive and compromising towards' the Jat-culture pressure tactics which compelled him to accept hair and the sword as the essential symbols of the Khalsa Holy Order.

Guru Gobind Singh has clearly described in thirty- three *swaiyas* and other writings in *Dasm Granth* what the Khalsa is, what his character should be according to his ideal. Guru Nanak used the word *Gurmukh* for ideal Sikh as a perfect and spiritually illumined Man. Guru Arjun used the word "*Brahm-gyani*" God-conscious and illumined and Perfect Man for the ideal Sikh. Guru Gobind Singh called him "Khalsa" : culturally, morally, spiritually Perfect Him.

The Gurmukh and the Brahm-gyani were individuals. The Khalsa was to be a Brotherhood of Saints, Seers and Gurmukhs and those who were moving towards perfection. All the Sikhs during Guru Nanak's period were not Gurmukhs, nor all the Sikhs of Guru Arjun's period *Brahm-gyani* nor were all disciples of Guru Gobind Singh perfect Khalsa.

The initiation ceremony introduced by Guru Nanak was "*Charan Pahui Ceremony*". The Sikhs initiated through this ceremony were given missionary authority but no one was given authority of the Guru to baptize. No Sikh could perform the initiation ceremony of the Guru. All the devotees of Guru Nanak were not initiated Sikhs. Many were uninitiated devotees called novices. The *Janam-sakhis* and other early records call them *nam-dharik* Sikhs (nominal Sikhs). Daulat Khan Lodhi has been described by Bhai Gurdas and Bhai Mani Singh, a *namdharik* Sikh.

Guru Gobind Singh had already fought the major battles of the first two decades of his life and won them against heavy odds before the Khalsa was ordained. So the Khalsa Holy Order was not ordained for militarizing the Sikhs. The purpose was a different one.

Guru Nanak bestowed Guruship on Angad about six months before he passed away and watched him and helped him to shoulder his responsibility. But Guru Gobind Singh decided about eight years before his death that no individual should carry the pontific responsibilities of the Sikh Panth. He organized the Khalsa Brotherhood to shoulder the individual pontific responsibilities of the Eternal Guru (manifest in the ten Gurus) collectively and democratically. For eight years he watched and disciplined this Khalsa Brotherhood and many times kept his just and wise counsel and divine wishes subservient to the collective wishes of the Khalsa Panth. The very word *Jat* does not Occur anywhere in his vast writings in the *Dasm Granth* where he mentions many Indian races and tribes and also foreign nations like French, Chinese, Manchurians, Arabs, Persians, Greeks and Portuguese.

The uninitiated or those who are devotees and devout followers but did not accept initiation because of their inability to shoulder the difficult life of the Khalsa Brotherhood were called *Sahajdharis*. In Sikh history there have not only been *Sahajdhari* Sikhs, but also *Sahajdhari* saints whose devotion and dedication and even spiritual achievements have been great and profound. They have always been greatly respected and they shall always be respected. There have been Hindu *Sahajdharis* and Muslim *Sahajdharis*. Upto 1947, out of the fifteen *Kirtanjathas* (hymn-singing groups) employed in the Golden Temple, seven were Muslim *Sahajdhiris*, who were gifted musicians and singers and knew and interpreted *Gurbani* better than ordinary Khalsa Sikhs. In view of these facts all the absurd monstrosities constructed by a hostile critic like Hew McLeod and his group in the name of academic historical investigations are heaps of false and non-

sensical pro-nouncements which keep themselves confined to deliber-ately spun web of misstatements, distortions and lies. Throughout his writings Hew McLeod never ventures to step into the region and domain of honest historical study and analysis and presentation of authentic evidence and truth about Sikh religion, history and culture.

A few words about the crude and irrelevant defini-tion of '*Panth*' which Hew McLeod gives in his works. He calls it a sectarian community. But the Sikh scriptures dearly explain all the meanings of the words "Panth". In the Sikh scriptures and other historical works, interpreta-tion of Sikh Panth, Gurmukh Panth and Khalsa *Panth* is also given."

INTERPRETATION OF THE WORD PANTH IN SLIM SCRIPTURES

The word "*Panth*" is a Sanskrit word, which has been often used in *Upnishads* and *Mahabharata* like the other common words "*Panch*" or *Pank*, which continued to be used in Sikh Scriptures in dictionary meaning and also in their newly oriented meanings in the context of Sikh doc-trines and ideals. *Panth or Path* means the road, the path and the way.

During the medieval period the word began to be used mostly for religious orders which had their own dis-tinctive religious organizations like the twelve Panths of the Yogis and the ten Panths of the Sannyasis. These were well-knit ascetic religious orders distinguished by their different ascetic practices, externals and internal forms and practices. Bhai Gurdas refers to them thus:

1. *sannyasi das nav dhar jogi barah panth chalaya.*
Sannyaysis have ten while yogis have
instituted twelve panths.

Bhai Gurdas, Var 39, Pauri 16

2. *barah panth chalayke barah vati khare duhela*
After institudng twelve panths
The yogis stand on twelve different paths
of difficult practices of self-mortification

In this sense the word is used in *Guru Granth* also in a number of places. In his *Siddh Gosht*, Guru Nanak clearly records the persuasive dialogue and intention of the Yo-gis to attract young Guru Nanak to one of their twelve Panths. In the *Guru Granth* it is also recorded that the *Nath Panth* which had gained prominence was *Ayi Panth*. Originally it was known as *Mai Panth*, a yogi order led by a woman, who was addressed as Mother (Mai); and then the letter 'M' was dropped and began to be called "Ayi" which in *Apabhrams* means "First, Primal, Prominent, Out-standing: a position which it still holds among the Yogis. Guru Nanak refers it to in *Japji* pauri 28.

When Guru Arjun's elder brother Prithi Mal formed a parallel Guruship, and installed himself as the head of a rival Panth, Bhai Gurdas called him and his successors *Minas* (Highway robbers) and condemned the fake Panth they had organised as *Nark-Panth*; the religious order doomed to be condemned to hell.¹³ He compared them to jackels, owls, and hypocrites who promise heaven to their devotees, like a mirage but actually led them to hell.

He completely condemns them as a counterfeit coins. Al-though, with the assistance and patronage of the rulers, they survived for three or four generations, they ended like a stream meandering into a hot desert. But the Sikh Panth of the Gurus was given a distinctive name and its uniqueness, and interior and outer distinctiveness was emphasized. According to Bhai Gurdas it embraced all religions and *panths* but yet it maintained its uniqueness and distinct identity by its high moral and spiritual character. It was not just called "Panth", but *Gursikh Panth*, *Gurmukh Panth*, *Nirmal Panth*, which is translated as Khalsa Panth.

gurmukh panth agam hai

mar mar jivai jae pachanai

Unfathomable and profoundly deep is the *Gurmukh Panth*

The devotee dies and relives, he dies and is reborn

Till he achieves realization of God.

gurmukh panth vakhaniai
 apar na. sakai ikat vikhi
 sil aluni chatani
 tul na. lakh amio ras ikhi
 Know this to be the Gurmukh Panth:
 It cannot be achieved by merely
 Taking one step (*ikat vikh*) towards it;
 In the beginning it is flavourless
 Like tasting a tasteless stone
 But its achievements cannot be surpassed
 By countless flavours of nectar.

Bhai Gurdas, *VaT* 28, Pauri 9

Bhai Gurdas repeatedly calls it *Sacha Gurmukh Panth*, *Gursikh Panth*, *Uttam Panth*, *Nirmal Panth*. Guru Gobind Singh gave many new Attributive Names to God such as All-steel, One whose banner is the Sword, the Infinite Sword. He also gave a new name to the *Gurmukh Panth* : The Khalsa Panth. The ideal Sikh *Gurmukh* was the Khalsa and the Khalsa was *Gurmukh*. The *Gurmukh* Khalsa carried with it additional responsibilities of the eternal Guru collectively. Just as merely externals or outward piety did not make a person *Gurmukh*, so also merely externals do not make a person Khalsa. No matter how much confusion is built around these terms by superficial and prejudiced observers and critics, the ideal of the *Gurmukh*, *Brahm Giani*, *true Sikh*, *true Khalsa* is made clear in hundreds of hymns in *Guru Granth* and *Dasm Granth*.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. *Dobistan-i-Mazahib*, Tr. Sardar Umrao Singh Majithia. Sardar Umrao Singh Majithia prepared this translation from the Paris manuscript which he found in the Paris Asiatic Society, in April 1930 when he was staying in Paris. It is the most correct and authentic translation. It was first published in Khalsa Review.
2. The Bikaner collection of *Akhbar-i-Darbar Muallah* has been translated by Dr Bhagat Singh of Punjabi University and published in *Punjab Past and Present*, XVIII, Part 2, October 1984.
3. Hew McLeod has given this translation of the same verse in two of his books: "*The Sikhs*", and "*Who is a Sikh?*", both published in the same year, 1989. Hew McLeod does not

translate the 8th line of the verse which explains the seventh line and both of these interpret the majestic moral and spiritual personality of Guru Hargobind.

4. *tike na tikaya*, Literally, cannot be persuaded to stay in one place or does not rest in one place even when persuaded to stay in his pontific city Amritsar.
5. *garh-chariah*, mounted his fort. This refers to his building the Lohgarh fort and mounting it with guns which according to the allegation against him by his critics provoked Emperor Shah Jahan to attack Amritsar.
6. *Patshah charh-aya*, The Emperor (Shah Jahan) *charh-aya* : Came and attacked him with an army. Guru Hargobind had built the Lohgarh fort and mounted his guns on it. This defence preparation is what the people called mounted his fortress. The word *charh-aya* does not mean imprisoned in the fort *garh charhaya* is followed by the mounting of attack by the Emperor Shah Jahan.
7. *natha Phire*: Guru Hargobind did not fight any battle with Jahangir. The misunderstanding created in the mind of Jahangir about Guru Arjun was obviously removed by Mian Mir, Wazir Khan and his own son who survived to tell the truth. The imprisonment in the fort of Gwalior lasted only for a few months or at most a year. After this short imprisonment the relation between Jahangir and Guru Hargobind were very cordial. It is only fifteen to eighteen years after the imprisonment that clashes with Shah Jahan's armies took place in Punjab. These battles and open clashes which took place after 1628 have nothing to do with his short imprisonment in Gwalior fort. There is no word in the text which can even remotely be translated into "imprisoned in the fort".
8. The imperial forces tried to frighten the Guru with superior military power and mighty armies but he did not show any sign of either fear but on the other hand encouraged everyone with fearlessness. During these years of armed confrontation with the Mughal armies, the Guru had to move from one place to another for strategic reasons. Even his slanderers bear witness to his fearlessness. Even the mightiest Mughal Rulers could not strike fear in him.
9. With the exception of Guru Angad and Guru Amar Das no Guru merely sat in one place and preached their teachings. Guru Nanak travelled even after settling in Kartarpur. Guru Amar Das in spite of his old age went to Kurukshetra and Hardwar and a number of other places. Guru Arjun was continuously under attack and his own writings reveal that his detractors and enemies forced three Mughal military leaders to attack him and eliminate him, but he had providential escape and as Guru Arjun puts it, divine intervention of God protected him.

10. Hunting was a part of military training.
11. Guru Arjun's elder brother Prithimal who had been denied primogenitor right of succession for which he was struggling had started writing half-plagiarized hymns with the signature line Nanak the Sixth (*Mahalla* Sixth). To stop the Sikhs from misunderstanding them as genuine composition of Guru Hargobind, the young Guru publically declared that he would not compose any hymn all his life and all Bani issued by the Mina Guru under Nanak Sixth was fake Bani and should be discarded by the Sikhs. This is exactly what happened.
12. *dokhi dusht agu muh laya*, The word *dokhi* (Sk. *doshi*) means sinful, guilty of offences against (Mughal) laws, rebels against law; *dusht* means, spoils, corrupted, wicked, offensive, culpable. *dusht dokhi* : means rebels who were offensive against established law (of Mughal govt.); the word *agu*. means leader. Guru Hargobind's army had been trained by many seasoned warriors who were disciples of Guru Arjun and had been persuaded by the Guru to leave the service of the Mughals and train Hargobind. These were the military leaders who dominated in political and military affairs. The religious and cultural administration was still in the hands of eminent sage-disciples like Bhai Gurdas and Bhai Buddha. Hew McLeod's translation: "this one encourages scoundrels", is a malicious and distorted translation. Scoundrels can never be either warriors or *agu*, leaders. The word *muh laya* is a Punjabi idiom which means patronizing, fostering, honouring them.
13. *nark panth hai minian mil nark nibahai*:

Bhai Gurdas, 36 : 6.

CHAPTER 8

**CONCEPT OF TRUE GURU AND TRUE SIKH IN
SIKH SCRIPTURES AND THEIR AUTHENTIC
EXPOSITIONS : PLACE OF PROFESSIONAL
CLASSIC AND CASTES IN SIKH SOCIETY**

Think of an intelligent person calling himself an intellectual and a scholar, claiming to know Arabic, and also claiming to have first hand knowledge of the text of Koran. I wonder what would Muslim and non-Muslim scholars say if he declares that there is no clear-cut definition of a Muslim or Islam in the Koran. If in order to create confusion about the different manners, behaviours, habits, life-style of Muslims, he takes as his sample of Muslims, a cab driver from Cairo, a camel driver from Arabian desert, a pleasure loving millionaire from some Emirate, a glutton from Morocco, a black Muslim from U.S.A. or Africa and a Muslim Indian politician aping Gandhi cap; if he highlights the differences of these Muslims who all go to mosques, read the Koran and compare their habits with the *Shariat* abiding Muslims in different countries, each loving his race, his tribe, his class, his profession, such a scholar can certainly write books after books, to create confusion about the unity of religious and social concepts, moral and spiritual ideals of Islam and say Islamic literature leaves a Muslim and Islam undefined; and the seventy-two sects, acknowledged even during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are seventy-two castes which have multiplied since then.

Anyone who has read the Koran or Islamic literature or the lives and practices of Muslim saints of various countries

will at once come to the conclusion that such an intellectual and scholar who arrogates to himself first hand knowledge of Islamic literature and writes such rubbish in the name of analytical sociological, historical or anthropological research of the religion of the Muslims is a hostile writer who is using his literary talent and investigative ingenuity only to blackmail and malign all that is precious, sacred and vitally important to Islam.

This is exactly the way Hew McLeod goes about Sikh Literature, its original sources and this is exactly how he starts describing Sikhs to interpret Sikhism with a cab-driver in Delhi and ends up by quoting in support of his views turbaned and bearded Sikhs scholars, born in Sikh families, having Sikh names but committed openly to Marxism, Communalism, hedonism, naked atheism, occupying prestigious chairs in the Universities with the express connivance of Delhi Rulers whose hostility and destructive attitude towards the Sikhs is now internationally known.

Almost every page of *Adi Guru Granth*, *Dasm Granth* (spiritual works), Bhai Gurdas and Bhai Nand Lal explains what the 'Guru' in Sikhism is and what are the relations of God with the Perfect and True Guru. One page in every ten pages of the voluminous Scriptures clearly explains what a true Sikh is and what are the ideas, the religious principles of meditations, prayers and worship, a Sikh must follow. The whole *Guru Granth* speaks in detail of the stages by which the mind of a true and committed Sikh progresses morally and spiritually and what code of conduct, moral principles and meditations he has to practice. The relation between God and the true Guru, between the true Guru and a humble devout committed Sikh are clearly stated. No Sikh has to go for any guidance to anyone or any place except the written Word of the Sikh Gurus and the Bhaktas. The Guru as the eternally living Word guides the Sikh not only on meditations, prayers, worship, but also on social, cultural ideals of human freedom and equality. And yet Hew McLeod has

written hundreds of pages to create confusion about these concepts.

CONCEPT OF THE TRUE GURU

In Sanskrit the word *guru* means venerable, respect-able, parents, spiritual guide, preceptor. In the Hindu world it is invariably used for school teacher and *acharya* for professors. Brahmins considered themselves born gu-rus of lower classes and castes. Anyone who gives profes-sional training in any art or technical skill is also called guru. For the Sikh Prophets the word Satguru, Gurdev, Jagatguru, Gurmukh (*mukh-Guru*) that is Primal or Adi Guru is also used. In the works of Guru Nanak and his successors the Perfect Guru is vividly portrayed. Guru Nanak and his successors were not God, but they were not only as pure and sinless as God, but were embodiment of the Perfect Spirit of God. The mystery of life, the creation and the universe is either known to God or Satguru the Perfect Prophet.

In the Hindu-Islamic world in which Guru Nanak lived, spiritual or religious knowledge was generally im-parted by Brahmins who claimed to be born gurus, by Qazis and Mullas or some *pirs* in Islam, and by yogis and sannyasis of many sects in the ascetic world. Unfortunately, in the eyes of Guru Nanak it is these three who were responsible for the moral and social degradation in the country.

Qazi kud bol mal khae
brahmin nhavai jia ghae
yogi jugat na janai andh
tino ujade ka bandh

The Qazis thrives through lies,
And eats filth through corrupt earnings.
The Brahmins slays innocent people,
Through ruthless exploitation
And then bathe in the holy Ganga;
Yogis are spiritually blind,
And know not the mystery of divine Wisdom
The three are religious shackles

Leading to wilderness and self-destruction

A.G. Guru Nanak, Dhansari, p. 662

Giving religious and spiritual instructions had become an organized secular technique under cover of clt-holy robes and religious cults, as it even now prevails on far other yoga cults. In a country where Guru Nanak and his successors wished to establish the ideal of ruth Guru, there were countless false and morally as well as spiritually blind gurus and pirs. In a country where Guru Nanak had to find sincere dedicated and devout Sikhs (disciples) there already existed selfish, greedy and misguided morally blind disciples of those spiritually blind gurus and plrs. Such selfish and greedy men who only wanted to exploit reli-gion were frequently present even in the congregations of the Sikh Gurus where entry was open to all human beings of all faiths, caste and creeds. This happened during the lifetime of the Gurus and even after them.

When gurus are morally and spiritually blind,
Their *chelas* (disciples) find no spiritual inspiration
of the divine Presence of God.¹

When gurus are morally and spiritually blind,
Their *Sikhs* (disciples) also commit acts and deeds
of morally and spiritually blind persons.²

There were as Guru Ram Das puts it *sachiar Sikhs* truth-loving, dedicated Sikhs and *kudiar Sikhs*: false and faithless Sikhs, though outwardly they looked alike. Out-wardly their behaviour was alike. Guru Ram Das clearly differentiates between them saying: "Truthful Sikhs remain close to the Presence of the True Guru and concen-trate on their life of obedience and contemplative disci-pline. False and faithless Sikhs just sit in the congregation to while away time. The spiritual instructions of the True Guru are distasteful to them and they try to shun them."³

It is the true Guru who had the insight and vision to know and pick up sincere, humble and genuine devotees and to reject false and hypocritical followers. Unlike other religions, the Sikh Gurus did not divide their devotees or

followers into believers and heretics, the Puritans and the *malechhas*, or the *momin* and *kafirs*, terms used in Hindu-ism and Islam invariably. The sincere devotees were called *Gursikhs*, *Gur-sewaks*, *Sanmukh Sikhs* or *Gurmukh Sikhs* or *Sant Sikhs* (saintly Sikhs). Those who were not sincere and those who did not live in obedience of the principles of Sikhism were called *manmukh* (egoistic and self-willed), *be-mukh* (those who have turned their back to the Guru's ideals). These and similar other terms are used through-out the Sikh Scriptures.

The Gurus in their own writings have clearly defined their relation as Perfect Prophet, with God. Behind the physical presence of the historical Guru there was the divine Presence of his God-Consciousness, Guru's Light, blazing within him as Eternal Light, as the Light of God and manifest through his Word (*Shabad*).

Only a perfect Guru who was inseparably One with God could reveal the mystery of the perfect Light of God to the true seeker. It is in this sense, God and Guru were one in Spirit, one in their all-pervading Presence, and one in their sinlessness and perfect in their Wisdom. Guru Nanak described his own relation as Eternal Guru with the All-pervading and Almighty Light of God thus:

gur mai apu rakhiya kartare
gurmukh kot asankh udhare.

In the Guru, God, the Creator
Has infused His own Light;
The Guru thus liberates,
Millions and millions of souls.

A.G. Guru Nanak, *Maru Solhe*, p. 1024

gur mai apu samoe shabad vartaya
sache hi patiyae, sach samaya

In the Guru, God has infused His presence;
And made Himself manifest
Through the word of God (shabad),
Lovers and seekers of truth,
Experience and know him with certainty
And they are absorbed in eternal truth.

When the word Guru is used for the Sikh Prophets it is qualified with “Perfect (Pure), Eternal (*abinashi*) Infal-lible (*achutya*).

*tun sabhnaa mahi samae
tin kartar ap lukaya
nanak gurmukh pargat hoyaa
ja ko jote dhari kartara jio.*

Thy Light O God pervades all;
Thou has kept Thyself mysteriously hidden;
Says Nanak, to the True Guru
He reveals His Light
The Creators has infused His Light in him.

A.G. Guru Nanak, *Sri Rag Ash*, p. 172

GUR-SIKHS : SIKHS OF THE GURU

The word “Sikh” simply means “disciples” and it was used in Sikh scriptures and religious literature for ,disciples of Gorakh, Ramanand and every religious teacher. The word Guru-Sikh or Gursikh is used in Sikh Scriptures for disciples and committed devotees of the Sikh Gurus. But as the word “Guru” was inseparably attached to the Sikh Gurus, their disciples came to be popularly known as “Sikhs”.

A person in Indian or Semitic religions never be-came a disciple of a Religious Master by merely joining their followers, as one becomes a member of a political party or the present day *Sant-cults* and yoga ashrams, popular in the west, by just entering their names in their membership registers and taking some vows after paying entry subscriptions and donations. The Guru’s doors were open for all human beings, but they accepted sincere re-ceptive minds as their disciples (Sikhs) first as novices (*sahajdhiiris*) or *namdharik* (nominal) Sikhs and then they initiated those who were true seekers. Bhai Gurdas rightly says:

*gur-dikhya gur sikh lai
gursikh sadae*

Only after accepting the initiation (dikhya)

From the Guru can a Sikh
Call himself a *Gursikh* (Sikh of the Guru).

Gurdikhiya was initiation into the *Guru-mantram*, and it is only through this initiation, a disciple became a Sikh and the Master who initiated became the Guru. What the average western mind does not understand is that the Word, *Shabad*, through which the Guru transfers and trans-mits his mystical and divine power is not an ordinary Word. The word or the *Gurmantra* is the quintessence of the Guru's inner divine Personality, the universal Light and Spirit which is all embracing Guru-consciousness, which pierces and awakens the sleeping disciple-consciousness. Through this inspired Word (*Shabad*) human consciousness discovers new dimensions of a world, nay, a universe within himself. It opens upon the vista of higher forms of life. The mind, the heart and soul of the seekers shares the universal Spirit within him and within the living world and universe around him.

*Shabad gur pira
gahar gambhira
bin shabde jag baurana*

The eternal Word is the Guru and Pir,
It is profound and unfathomable,
In its mystical depths.
Without the Word
The world lives in wilderness.

A.G. Guru Nanak, *Sorath Ash*, p. 635

Yet this divine knowledge of Sikh mystical experience and spiritual illumination is imparted only to receptive minds. Minds and hearts which repel Light and Truth and deliberately turn towards darkness do not receive it, even if they pose to be Sikhs by appearance.

*Uitdhe bhande kachhu na samavai
sidhai amrit pare nihar*
When nectar is poured,
Into a vessel upside down,
It will not hold even a single drop;

When the heart is open and receptive
It is brimming with nectar.

The Name of God, which symbolizes His Presence and Existence, *Gurbani* which portrays the eternal Presence, Creation and Work of God, and all the mystical, spiritual and aesthetic manifestations of God as Unstruck Music, as Eternal Light, are called *Shabad*: the Word Eternal, the Name: God's Presence and Existence.

In every religion the Master and disciple are described in terms of their character as well as moral and spiritual personality. A person does not become a Christian, Muslim, a Buddhist or a Sikh, either by merely signing a register of a particular religion or by merely profession to be one, but one had to accept some views of a moral and spiritual discipline, and mould his inner life according to this discipline. It is according to this discipline a Christian, a Muslim, a Buddhist or a Sikh is described.

Hundreds of hymns in *Guru Granth* speak of the Sikh Way of life. Daily Sikh meditation and Prayers, Sikh Code of Conduct, and the difficulties a Sikh faces in this long journey to God are given. Only the fortunate few who lead the life of dedicated Sikhs achieve Him. The Word (*Shabad*) is the Essence of this Path, *Gurmat*, Wisdom of the Gurus.

Gurmat is the Path of Truth
The Word is the Essence of Path
The Disciple enshrines in his heart
The Divine Name of God.⁴

Those who tread this path of dedicated love for God are called *Gurmukh Bhaktas* and it is about this Sikh Way of life of devout Bhaktas (lovers of God). Guru Amar Das writes in our daily prayer *Anand Sahib*:

Unique is the conduct and bearing of these *Bhaktas*,
The devout lovers who walk on the Path of Love.
The conduct and bearing of these *Bhaktas* is unique,
They have to walk on the thorny and troublesome path.

These *Bhaktas* discard and renounce
Devouring selfishness, greed and egoism.

They love silence and speak very little.
 Sharper than the edge of a sword
 Narrower than a hair's breadth
 Is the Path these Bhaktas have tread.

A.G. Guru Amar Das, *Anand Sahib*, p. 918

Just as there is a profound and deep relation between God and Guru (the Prophet), so also, according to Sikh Scriptures, there is an abiding relation between the True Guru (Satguru) and sincere and devout Sikhs. The true Guru makes the Unseen seen, the Invisible visible to the Seeker's inner vision (*divya drishti*) :

adrisht disai tan kahya jai
 One can describe the Unseen God,
 If one sees His Light and Presence;
 Without seeing Him as a Living Presence
 All attempts to describe Him are in vain;
 The enlightened Sikhs see Him naturally,
 When their mind and consciousness,
 Lives in obedience of His Love and worship,
 In the transcendent spiritual state of *Sahaj*.

A.G. Guru Nanak, *Gauri Asht*, p. 222

The Sikh Gurus gave to their Sikhs, who were true seekers, a spiritual path, a mystical state, and a soul-consciousness which is illumined with the experience of His Light and Presence. For such a life a Sikh had to live in obedience and moral as well as spiritual discipline called the *Rahit*, popularly translated as "Code of Conduct". One of the key hymns giving concrete directions on this discipline given below, was composed by Guru Ram Das. It is the earliest code of conduct (*Rahitnama*).

WHO IS A SIKH?

He who calls himself a Sikh of the True Guru,
 Should every morning rise, and contemplate His Name,
 He should ardently wake-up
 In the early hours of dawn.
 After taking his bath, he should
 Immerse his heart and soul
 And bathe in the Pool of Nectar: *Amritsar*
 He should then meditate and remember

God's Name as instructed by the Guru;
 All stains of sins and transgressions disappear
 After sunrise, a Sikh should recite and sing
Gurbani : the prayers and hymns of the Gurus.
 Throughout the day as he sits and stands,
 Performing his daily work and duties
 He should live in rapturous
 Remembrance of His Name.
 A Sikh remembers and recollects,
 In deep concentration
 His Name with every life-breath.
 Such a Sikh is indeed dear to the True Guru.
 A Sikh on whom my Beloved Lord
 Bestows His mercy and gracious favours,
 Is a blessed Sikh to whom,
 The True Guru imparts spiritual instructions.
 Nanak craves for the dust of the feet
 Of such a blessed and devout Sikh
 Who lives in rapturous remembrance of His Presence
 In continuous remembrances of His Name.

A.G. Guru Ram Das, *Var Gauri*, p. 305

This hymn, like hundreds of other hymns, gives a clear definition, character, daily life and meditation of a Sikh. Without this basic code of conduct (*rahit*), a Sikh is not accepted as a sincere and committed disciple either by the Guru or by enlightened Sikh society. For a Sikh to rise up early in the morning and perform ablution of bathing his body with water is not the only act of ablution of purifying himself, but even more important act of profounder ablution is to immerse his heart, mind and soul in concentration, meditation and contemplation of His Presence and Name, which Guru Ram Das calls bathing in the Pool of Nectar Amritsar. While bathing in a Pool of Nectar, (*Amrtisar*) was a daily act of inner ablution for every individual, Guru Amar Das and Guru Ram Das constructed the Baoli Sahib shrine and the Golden Temple, Amritsar, where everyone first bathes in the Sacred Pool, and then he bathes in the ambrosial Waters of divine Word, which he continuously hears in the form of *Kirtan* (singing) and recitation of the hymns of *Guru Granth*. This is an ideal pilgrimage to an ideal shrine.

Those who seek the love and grace of the True Guru are blessed with the inspiration and ideals of Sikhism. While the Guru is a sinless Perfect Prophet, a Sikh is a human being, with all the human weaknesses and short-comings, who lives in the shadow of his Master's protective grace.

bhitle sikh gurit samjhae
aujhaq, jande marag pae.

When a Sikh falters or makes a mistake,
The True Guru instructs him in righteousness,
When a Sikh is lost in wilderness,
The True Guru guides his steps to righteous Path.

A.G. Guru Nanak, *Rag Maru, Sohla*, p. 1032

At the mental and spiritual level, the relation between the Prophet-Guru and a devout Sikh and seeker is that of an inseparable bond between the Guru-consciousness, the Guru-Spirit (the Word of God) and the disciple-consciousness of the Sikh and a sincere seeker. This relation is described in hundreds of verses in Sikh Scriptures, as *Shabad-Surta* relation. Thus the *Guru-consciousness* as *Shabad* which was manifest in God's Attributes and Name, in reality is an Eternal Presence, and Inscrutable Will of God which transcended the physical person of the Guru as well as the disciple.

In the Word is the Guru
And the Guru is in the Word.

Bhai Gurdas, *Kabit Swaiyas*, 608

The relation of the True Guru and a true Sikh is one of a Father and Son, of a Mother and the child, whom she gives breast-feeds, and of a Friend who never forsakes a Sikh either in sorrow or in any difficulty. It is a mystical and spiritual relationship but human-all-too-human.

gurdev mata gurdev pita
gurdev swami parmashwara,
gurdev sakha agyan bhanjan,
gurdev bandhap sahodra;
gurdev data harinam updeshai.

gurdev mant nirodharaa.
 Gurdev is the Mother
 Gurdev is the Father
 Gurdev is the Master:
 Embodiment of the Supreme Being.
 Gurdev is the Friend Who destroys all ignorance;
 Gurdev is the closest kith and kin,
 Having bonds of blood and spirit;
 Gurdev gives to his Sikhs
 Spiritual instruction in contemplation of His Name.
 The *gurmantra* given by Gurdev
 Is the spiritually liberating Word.

A.G. Guru Arjun, *Bawan Akhari*, p. 262

Just as the spirit of God shines perfectly in the Person of
 the Guru, so the perfect Spirit of the Guru per-vades all
 enlightened Sikhs. “*gursikhan andar satgur vartai, jo sikhan
 no lochai so gur khushi avae* : “Within the illu-mined Sikhs,
 the Spirit of the Guru becomes manifest, and the wishes of the
 Sikhs (the disciples) becomes the joyous blessings of the
 Guru.”²⁴

Most of the Sikhs daily recite in the *Sukhmani*:
 The Satguru sustains and nourishes his Sikhs,
 He is ever compassionate towards his true devotees.
 The True Guru dispels all evil thoughts
 From the mind and hearts of the Sikhs.
 Inspired by the Guru’s divine Word,
 A Sikh utters and contemplates God’s Name.
 The Satguru destroys all bondage of his Sikhs,
 The Sikh of the True Guru
 Shuns and keep away from evil.

A.G. Guru Arjun, *Sukhmani, Gauri*, p. 268

Every page of the *Guru Granth Sahib* and canonized
 scriptures like the monumental works of Bhai Gurdas and Bhai
 Nand Lall give a clear image of the historic and divine
 personality of the Gurus. They reflect not only the Guru
 of Faith which should rightly be called the Mystic and
 Spiritual personality of the Guru but also the Guru of
 history. We find how the Gurus met the various types of
 challenges in society dominated by Brahmins, Mullas,

Qazis, miracle mongering Yogis and ascetics. We find how the Gurus and the enlightened Sikhs met the political challenges of blood-thirsty rulers, corrupt ministers and greedy inhuman administrators.

If hostile critics and new breed of self-style western scholars like Hew McLeod do not see it, this is because they are blinded by ingrained prejudice, cultivated open bias, and an incurable passion for self-opinionated destructive criticism, which knows no rules of academic propriety or respect for historic facts and truths of religions other than their own.

Hew McLeod in his extraordinary zeal to condemn all aspects and all ideals of Sikhism has not cared to know what Hindu caste system is. He confuses castes with rural and urban professions. In Hindu society a Jat, a Sansi, a carpenter, a distiller of wine belongs to the same lower castes - and they were all treated as menials. Bhai Gurdas enumerates nearly fifty professions of artisans, and yet most of them belonged to the same castes. The Gurus gave spiritual equality, social equality and political equal-ity to all, by virtue of which a cobbler Lall Singh, a lead-ing warrior was able to kill Jaspat Rai even when he was sitting in *howda* of an elephant, protected by thousands of soldiers. A carpenter youth hardly in his twenties, named Sukha Singh emerged as the hero and leader of *Chhota Ghallughara* (Lesser Holocaust) when he was ac-cepted as commander to lead the Sikhs out of Mughal encirclements. Jassa Singh Ahluwalia (a *kalal* family of distillers) and Jassa Singh Ramgarhia, from a carpenters family always led the central command by virtue of their spiritual greatness as Sikhs and their outstand-qualities of leadership in peace and in the battlefield. The Brahmins and Kshatriyas were given equal opportunities but the glory of leadership went to the one who deserved by virtue of his genius and ability. We will deal with the so called Jat supremacy trumpeted by Hew McLeod in Chapter 10 of this book. This is a myth created by those who do not know that any superiority of caste, tribe or race has no

place in Sikh history and society.

The various lower castes of the Hindus could never visit a temple. They could never sit in the same row with upper castes to eat or to drink anything. But from the time of Guru Nanak to this day people of all races, all religions, all castes and creeds, men, women and children can go to the Sikh temple, join the congregation without ever being questioned and sit anywhere they like in *Langar* (community-kitchen) and eat to their fill. To this day one can see the richest men sitting along with the poorest persons, the Sikhs, Muslims, Hindus, Christians sitting and partaking the same food as brothers and sisters of one human family. There is no such example in any racial, tribal, religious and cultural get-together in Sikh congregations in the name of Guru Nanak-Guru Gobind Singh in any other religion or society and political order in world religions.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. guru jinan ka andhula
chele nahi thau
A.G. Guru Nanak, Sri Rag, p. 58
2. Guru jinan ka andhala
sikh bhi andhe karam karan
A G Guru Amar Das, Ramkali, p. 951
3. Schiar sikh bahi sagur pas ghalan
kudiar na labhani kiai thai bhale
jina satgur ka akhya sukhavai nahi
tina muh thlere phirahi dayia gule
AG Guru Ram Das, Var Gauri, p. 305
4. A G Guru Ram Das, Var Gauri, p. 633

CHAPTER 9

MISSIONARY IN GROUPS, DISSENTERS AND DISOWNED HOSTILE GROUPS

As a religious and cultural organization, Sikhism is an open Society. The Gurus as Prophets, with divine gifts, exercised their authority through humility, inspiring discipline. They reposed complete trust in illumined disciples, who in the form of assembly were known as *Sadh Sangat*. The Gurus had set the principle of sharing their spiritual authority on the principle;

ik sikh doe sadh saith
panjin parmashwar.

One enlightened disciple is a Sikh
Two or more form the sadh-sangat :
Congregation of the saintly Sikhs,
Where there are five enlightened Sikhs
There is manifest, the Light of God.

Bhai Gurdas, *Var 13, Paudi 11*

Sikh Gurus treated the enlightened Sikhs with great reverence and they accepted the will of an assembly of such saintly Sikhs as the voice of God. This was the principle on which the Khalsa Brotherhood was ultimately built.

While true Sikhs lived in devout obedience and discipline set forth by the Gurus, even members of the Guru's family who desired to set up their own religious orders were allowed to do so, but they were not allowed to interfere in the continuing mainstream of Sikhism, upheld by legitimate successors.

Even though priests were necessary for certain functions

of temple organization, no priestly class was instituted. Any disciplined religious-minded Sikh could perform these functions. But no religion can survive without an organized missionary work. The missionary orders which were organized by the Sikh Gurus during their life time were *Masands*, *Udasis*, *Sewa Panthis* and *Nirmlas*.

MASANDS

Guru Amar Das trained the first group of Sikh missionaries, who were called *Masands* from the Persian word *masnad* which meant “Related to the Throne”, or One who derived his authority directly from the Throne. Perhaps, for the first time in the history of the world, the trained missionaries included women, who held independent dioceses or areas of spiritual jurisdiction. The first and second batch of *masands* under Guru Amar Das and Guru Ram Das were distinguished and saintly missionaries who are still remembered in the areas in which they served.

When Guru Arjun ascended the pontifical throne, his selfish and aggressive elder brother, Prithi Mal started bribing and corrupting the *masands*. This game of bribing and corrupting the *Masands* and encouraging them to seek patronage of the Mughals, encouraged them to misuse the tithes and funds of religious offerings. Whenever, in Sikh history, a religious leadership or missionary group has misappropriated funds and used it for personal aggrandisement, it has become a deadly cancer in the stomach of the religious organization and its moral and spiritual death has become an unavoidable certainty. Guru Gobind Singh issued *hukamnamis* against these *masands*, asking Sikhs to disown and reject them but at the same time cautioning Sikhs not to be harsh on those who are dutiful and good. Here are Guru Gobind Singh’s comments on *masands* :

Whoever offers to serve the *masands*
 They tell him: come offer everything
 And all your gifts to us,

For seeking blessings and favours of God.
 Whatever money you have in your house
 Bring it immediately and offer it to us.
 Day and night concentrate on our holy person.
 Even in error do not think of any other
 Except our name and holy presence.
 As soon as they are asked to help the poor and needy
 They run away from the place shunning charity,
 Nothing else pleases these *masaiuis*
 Except cheating, looting innocent Sikhs.
 In their eyes the *masands* put oil
 To make tears roll down their cheeks,
 In their hypocritical postures
 To weep like unworldly saints for God.
 When they see a rich Sikh,
 They serve him with delicious food;
 But when they see a poor Sikh
 They offer him no hospitality.
 When a poor Sikh even begs for food,
 They spurn him and turn their face away.
 These *Masands*, these rapacious animals,
 Only loot and plunder innocent Sikhs,
 They never contemplate and glorify God.

Guru Gobind Singh, *Thirty-three Swaiyas*, 29, 30

Guru Gobind Singh made two things clear to the Sikhs:
 A missionary or organizational system built to preach, interpret
 and disseminate Sikhism is worth respect and moral support
 by Sikhs so long as it maintains its inner purity, honesty and
 credibility. As soon as the members of a religious system within
 the Sikh Panth becomes corrupt, greedy and immoral to the
 extent of ex-ploiting and looting the people, the missionary
 system should be eliminated; its organizers thrown out as cheats
 and thieves, and an entirely new missionary organizations built
 for which enlightened, religious people should be selected. Thus
 ended once for all the *Masand system*.¹

UDASIS

Guru Nanak's elder son Sri Chand was a celibate, with
 ascetic temperament and when he saw his father going on
 missionary tours in the dress of *Udasis* (recluses who

renounce the world) he started training himself as an ideal *Udasi* and prospective successor to his father. The first surprise Sri Chand got was when Guru Nanak gave up his *Udasi* dress and lived in ordinary Punjabi dress which everyone wore. The second surprise Sri Chand got was when he chose Angad as his successor six months before his death and asked him to set up his pontifical seat at Khadur. Kartarpur, where Guru Nanak had spent the last twenty years of his life, was left to the exclusive control of the family, where Sri Chand carried on his missionary activities preaching ascetic ideals in the name of Guru Nanak without much success.

When Guru Nanak passed away in 1539 A.D, Sri Chand was 43 years old while Guru Angad was hardly 35 years of age. Sri Chand could not believe that an outsider who had become a disciple of his father only during the last fifteen years of his life could know more about him than a religious minded son like him who was a born celibate (*bal-jati*), whose self-control, ascetic habits and yogic powers were known to everyone. He lived to the age of 133 years and found that there were five most brilliant successors on his father's pontifical throne, but during a whole century of his activities he could not find one worthy successor among his *Udasis* disciples, while Guru Hargobind still had spiritually gifted sons.

Sri Chand sought the permission of Guru Hargobind to bestow his mantle on his elder son, Baba Gurditta, who was hardly sixteen years old, and expressed his fervent desire that the *Udasis* should henceforth be disciplined, trained and given the status of a highly respected missionary wing of Sikhism. Under the guidance of Baba Gurditta, the first four orders of the *Udasis* were organized. They were known as *Dhuan* (literally Ascetic Fires set up by Yogis and *Siddhas*) under four outstanding leaders: (1) Balu Hasna, (2) Almasi (an intoxicated saint and mystic), (3) Bhai Phul, (4) Bhai Goind. Baba Gurditta died at the age of 25, but Guru Hargobind, Guru Har Rai, Guru Hari Krishan, Guru Tegh Bahadur and Guru Gobind Singh

continued to help in training and expanding these missionary groups; and the new Udasi leaders appointed by them and sent to new centres were called *Bakhshish* (The Blessed Ones).

Udasis like the two other religious orders founded subsequently were partly monastic, partly saintly missionary organizations. The Udasis completely gave up worldly ambitions, secular life, and devoted themselves exclusively to missionary work. The Khalsa Panth considered this missionary order inseparable part of the Sikh nation, and the most respected part. Management of historical Sikh temples was exclusively left to them all over India. They

went to the remote corners of India, established missionary centres in all places visited by Guru Nanak from Kabul to Decca, and from Nepal to Kanya Kumari and Rameshwaram. They learnt the languages of these regions, prepared absolutely correct copies of *Guru Granth*, and installed them in these places and interpreted the Sacred scriptures and preached the life-stories of the Gurus as best as they could.

The Udasi centres still exist in Amritsar, Hoshiarpur, Jullundur, Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, Ayudhia, Ahmedabad, Allahabad, Hardwar, Dehradun, Banaras and Lucknow. In 1956, I met the Udasi Saint Lall Baba, who lived in a house boat in Calcutta. He was over 150 years old, very alert and active and talked of the last days of Ranjit Singh's Raj of which he had some vivid memories.

When the *masands* of Ram Rai cremated him while he was still in *samadhi* and captured his *derii*, Guru Gobind Singh expelled these armed treacherous *masands* and installed Punjab Kaur to reorganize the dera on Udasi principles. She adopted an Udasi youth as her spiritual son and lived upto 1744 A.D. to establish the Dehradun *dera* exclusively on Udasi pattern. She rendered great help to the Holy Mothers, Mata Sundari and Mata Sahib Devi during Banda period and for long after that. But the *masands* who burnt Ram Rai alive captured the Lahore and some other *deras* of Ram Rai and helped the Mughals

and Afghans for which reason a social boycott of these Ram Raiyas of Punjab was established. They were virtually eliminated and in due course most of the *deras* of Ram Rai came under the control of Mata Punjab Kaur. The *dera* is still run on Udasi pattern but perpetuates the memory of Ram Rai as their Guru and their *ardasa* includes all the first seven Gurus, Sri Chand, Baba Gurditta and Ram Rai.

Nearly fifty per cent, if not more, absolutely correct recensions of *Guru Granth*, Vars of Bhai Gurdas and works of Bhai Nand Lall were written by Udasi scribes and pre-served in Sikh shrines supervised by Udisis. As Udisis, Nirmalas and Sewa Panthis were organized by Guru Hargobind, Guru Tegh Bahadur and Guru Gobind Singh as missionary wings, the Khalsa respected them as indis-pensable part of the Panth, and just as the Khalsa had complete responsibility for military activities the Udasl, Sewa Panthl, Nirmala, Sahajdharls and Khalsa saints were given equal and free participation in religious and cultural affairs. It is the Udisis who constructed the canal which brought fresh water to the Sacred Pool in Amritsar. The two flags in front of Akal Takht and ceremonies related to them were re-established by Udisis. Over a hundred prominent Udasi saints and mystics are well known for their missionary work in Kabul, Dacca, Gorakhmata, Puri, Rameshwaram, Allahabad, Hardwar and a number of places in Punjab.

Foreseeing disastrous results of the moral degradation of Ranjit Singh's durbar and British invasion, the eminent Udasi saint Nirban Pritam summoned an assembly of all the Udasi saints and leaders at Paryag (Allahabad) in 1879. The central authority was organised under "*Panchavati Akhara*" and the whole organization was based on a democratic system. No single Udasi was to be authority. Four mahants were elected to form the central council, namely Mahant Ganga Ram, Katusht Brahms, Anup Brahms, and Atal Brahms. Sant Nirban Pritam kept himself out. *Guru Granth* was to be their Supreme Guru and Guide, for ever in future.

How devoted and committed the Udasis were as Sikh missionaries, can be assessed from the following incident reported in Thomas Hardwicke's "*Narrative of a Journey to Srinagar*". (p. 450)

Udasis as well as Nirmalas had pitched their camps hoisted their flags, and started *Akhand Path* of *Guru Granth* three days before the Kumbh mela at Hardwar. Naga Sadhus who called themselves Gosain Sannyasins were given magisterial control of the fair both by the Maratha and the British and they charged every Hindu pilgrim eight annas to one rupee. They went about armed with deadly weapons and would fire, flog and torture everyone who did not fulfil their demand. Captain Hardwicke relates how these Naga Sadhus slavishly served British officers, who were there, by offering them special facilities.

The Udasis and Nirmalas refused to give any money because they were not Hindus but Sikh missionaries. The Nagas at first threatened and then carried out the threats by stopping the recitation of *Guru Granth* and burning their flag. While the Nirmalas went away quietly, the Udasis resisted. They were brutally attacked by all types of weapons and many of them were killed. The *Guru Granth* was chopped with axes. All the pilgrims who had come for *guru-ka-langar* were also either killed or injured. The incident took place in April 1796.

When Sikh Sardars, Rai Singh, Sher Singh, Maharaja of Patiala came to know about it they rushed to the spot. The Udasis who had been killed were cremated. The flag was hoisted and the recitation of *Guru Granth Sahib* completed under armed protection. The Udasi leaders had requested the Sardars not to harm any pilgrim and not to take any action till the holy festival was over. So on 10th April when the pilgrims melted away and the Naga Sadhus and Gosains were counting their collections, the Sikh Sardars attacked them with blind fury and killed everyone of these Naga killers and exploiters that came their way. From that year onward the Nirmala and Udasis saints were never

taxed but were given special facilities for preaching the teachings of *Guru Granth* in Hardwar and Kurukshetra *melas*.²

It is only after the annexation that the British encouraged the Udasi *mahants* of historical shrines of Nankana to become independent, and treat these historical shrines as their property, that, there was a clash and a movement started against them, to save the historical shrines from sacrilege and base corruption. But the Udasi saints and *mahants* outside Punjab were not touched. Their *deras* flourish till this day undisturbed. In the face of destructive and spiritually dead Akali Dal politics of Punjab they continued to spread the authentic message of the *Guru Granth* to the non-Sikh in the regions in which they live even to this day.

SEWA PANTHIS

Bhai Kanhiya a disciple of Guru Tegh Bahadur took a vow to serve people in peace and war at a humanitarian level. While he tended the wounds of the Sikhs soldiers and carried water to the dying in the battle-field, he served even the wounded soldiers of the enemies with deep compassion and human concern. His two devotees, Bhai Sewa Ram and Adan Shah set in motion a powerful movement which still exists and is respected by the Sikhs.

Adan Shah was a Persian scholar who translated Al-Ghazali's *Kimiya-Sa-adat* and called it *Paras-Bhag*. He belonged to a rich family and had his early education in Sikh Scriptures and history from an Udasi saint Baba Gurdas, who also trained him in Calligraphic excellence, after acquiring which Adan Shah prepared excellent copies of *Guru Granth*. The ink prepared according to the formula of Adan Shah was considered the best and was known as *Adan-Shahi ink*. Adan Shahi or *Sewa Panthis* were Sikh saints who earned their personal livelihood by doing small craft work and selling their products, but they devoted all their time and energy to prayer, worship, writing and preparing copies of scriptures and historical works.

They built hospices for wayfarers in the remote areas of eastern Punjab on highways where ninety per cent of the travellers were Muslims. Whatever money was offered by people was scrupulously spent on the sick, the needy and for charitable purposes. Adan Shah was living when Ruler of Lahore had set a price on each head of a Sikh. Once when the Emperor visited his Pir a Sufi Saint he found Adan Shah sitting by his side, who appeared to be a Sikh and yet not a militant Sikh. He asked his Pir in Persian, "Is he the disciple of that dangerous Rebel Guru Gobind Singh?" The Pir in order to protect his life and person from the Emperor's wrath said "He is a saint who has renounced the world and is disciple of Pir Nanak Shah who went to Mecca and Medina". Bhai Adan Shah calmly but firmly replied, "*Padshah Salamat* I am the disciple of that Rebel Guru Gobind Singh, who was ninth successor of Baba Nanak and am proud of being one." The Emperor was stunned by the reply, and giving a formal bow to his Pir and Adan Shah went away. Such had been the moral courage and commitment to Guru Gobind Singh of Sewa Panthi Saints most of whom were Khalsa Sikhs, but kept away from militant activities. Baba Sham Singh and the eminent theologian Sant Amir Singh were Sewa Panthi Saints and great scholars. For over a century the first offering of *Karaprashad*, (sacramental food) at 2 A.M. in the Golden Temple inner *Sanctum* and *Santorium* is prepared at the dera of Sant Baba Sham Singh who died at the age of 123 in 1923. His teacher Bhai Ram Singh was son of the personal attendant of Guru Gobind Singh.³

NIRMALA MISSIONARY WING

Guru Gobind Singh trained 52 disciplined missionar-ies and explained to them *Guru Granth*, the final version of which was prepared at Damdama in Anandpur. The fifty-two scholars thus trained, were called the Adi Damdami Taksal of Anandpur. Out of these five scholars who were taught Sanskrit were sent to Benaras namely Ram Singh, Karam Singh, Ganda Singh, Vir

Singh, Sobha Singh and later more were sent to other centres like Hardwar and Allahabad. In all these places they still have their headquarters. Such great luminaries as Sant Nihal Singh, the first to translate Japji into Sanskrit, Sant Gulab Singh, Giani Gian Singh, Pundit Tara Singh Nitrotam and others have contributed monumental works which are indispensable for all serious students of Sikhism.

Some Sant-Cults and even historians belonging to some *sampardaya* have tried to distort Sikh history. Giani Gian Singh has shifted the Martyr Bhai Mani Singh's place of birth to his own village Longowal although the Mani Singh of this village was a Dulat-jat and not *Shahid* Bhai Mani Singh a Kshatriya. Giani Gian Singh also shifted the Damdama (of Anandpur) where the first authentic copies of *Gum Granth* were prepared to Damdama in Bathinda district where later on Baba Dip Singh set up his missionary centre. To carry the distortion further the Bhindrawale Sants now claim to be the spiritual descendents of Damdami Taksal (spiritual lineage of interpreters of Guru Granth) of Baba Dip Singh, although all the followers of Baba Dip Singh and Baba Gurbakhsh Singh died fighting to the last man for the sanctity of the Golden Temple. They left no successor. Sant Sunder Singh, founder of Bhindra-walas was student of Nirmala saint, Sant Gulab Singh and actually belonged to the Amritsari Taksal. I had the opportunity to meet Sant Inder Singh brother of Sant Sunder Singh many times and got first hand material about the Saint's life from Sant Giani Gurbachan Singh. Sant Inder Singh died a few years ago at the age of 104.⁴

SANT CULTS, BABA CULTS AND GURU CULTS

Besides these missionary wings organized by the Sikh Gurus, there were many eminent Saints who instituted reforms. In the eighteenth century the Saints were addressed only as Bhai (Brother) or Baba (A Persian term for religious elders) which was also used in the Mughal Courts as well as the Guru's *durbars* for Princes and sons of Sikh Gurus.

The moral degradation and political as well as cul-tural chaos created by the voluptuous life in Ranjit Singh's court and the Brahmanical control of Durbar affairs by Dogras, followed by annexation created a pitiable situa-tion. There was political revolt and religious revival by Bhai Maharaj Singh and the saintly Baba Ram Singh Namdhari and social and cultural reforms by Nirankari leader Baba Dayal ji. Baba Ram Singh died in British prison in Burma, while Bhai Maharaj Singh was tortured to death in Singapore prison. The families of Baba Ram Singh and Baba Dayal kept the movement instituted by them alive during the early twentieth century but they ceased to be a perceptible force after the partition.

Hindu religious reformists encouraged Guru-Cult, as in Hinduism no sooner a holyman is accepted as a 'Sant' he begins to be addressed as "Guru" and "Bhagwan". As Brahminism dominated the religious field in urban and rural areas the passion to raise the status of Namdhari and Nirankari leaders Baba Ram Singh and Baba Dayal ji to the status of Guru was also propagated within these cult groups and some ridiculous and unhistorical reasons were found. This unfortunate practice not only weakened these remarkable movements, and lowered the prestige of the great religious Sikh leaders of nineteenth century but has reduced their followers to narrow and limited areas of petty *deras*, which do not have a hopeful future until they give up their Guru-cult and play a constructive role in the collective future of the Sikh Panth.

In the twentieth century, more so in the last five decades, Saints and Babas have sprung up like mushrooms, and they are worried more about expanding their mate-rial wealth than spiritual interests of their followers.

EROSION OF SIKH RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS BY BRITISH
IMPERIALISM DURING RAJ AND BY DOMINANT MAJORITY
IMPERIALISM AFTER 1947

Briefly stated, British Imperialism adopted some methods

of bringing religious and cultural ruin to Sikh society, religion and all that was precious to it. Hindu Imperialist have done the same thing after 1947. The only difference is that the British government exploited the greed and avarice of the Udasi Mahants who controlled historical Gurdwaras, while the Delhi Rulers after 1946 have ex-ploited the corrupt Akali and pro-Congress leadership in the name of secularism to promote the new Hindu civilization they were ushering in place of the western civilization propagated by the British.

The British encouraged the Udis to become owners of property of historical Gurdwaras and even made their property free of revenue taxes. The British went to the extent of some repression leading to Gurdwara Reforms movement, but did not go beyond a certain point for fear of losing their hold on the Sikhs completely. No military or para-military rule was instituted except Marshal law for a short period. But the Delhi Rulers backing Hindu Imperialism and Hindu hegemony over the language, culture and religious practices of the Sikhs have carried their nefarious designs to Blue Star Operation which involved savage destruction of Golden Temple complex and 57 other historical shrines. As if this was not enough they organized the most barbaric Delhi riots against Sikhs in November 1984.

The British patronized corrupt Udasi Mahants and pro-govt. individuals, who could speak against their own people. The Delhi Rulers patronized corrupt and characterless leaders and hired equally corrupt Sants and Babas but more so the Sant Nirankaris who promote lecherous and hedonist life in the name of free thinking and free indulgence in everything religious function of their deras. The Sant Nirankaris have been used by the Delhi Rulers as the real Sikhs, the government recognize and has helped them and similar cults with money and weapons for armed confrontation with the Sikh people. These government backed Sant Nirankari attacks on Sikhs are the beginning of two decades of repression and military

and para-military continuing attacks on Sikh youth, which has led to the complete alienation of the Sikhs in the country. God knows where it will end.

A WORD ABOUT THE SANT NIRANKARIS

As the Nirankaris of Baba Dayal's ideals were pious and puritan of the highest order, they expelled Boota Singh in 1929 who performed good Kirtan, but like many Bhajan Singers and Kirtan Singers, had an uncontrollable craze for wine, woman and money. In Rawalpindi he formed his own group of Sant Nirankaris in which everyone who followed his principles of enjoying wine, women, money and becoming religious by shouting *Dhan Nirankar*, became a "*Sant*" and the group was known as *Sant Nirankaris*. For a glimpse into their origin and practices I am quoting the official biography of Nirankari Babas by the eminent Punjabi writer Balwant Gargi. Describing Boota Singh's death Gargi writes "At 2.00 p.m. they (Nirankaris about thirty) filed past their guru, touching his feet offering money. As he received each offering he rubbed it against his chest and then laid it by his side. His aged mother, sitting by his side, asked, "Even now so much love for money, dear son." He chose Avtar Singh owner of a Hindu Bakery for bread for Hindus in Peshwar. After partition Avtar Singh set up his Sant Nirankari hedonist *dera* in Delhi and was at once patronized by Delhi Rulers as their best bid against the Sikhs. Not only Congress but even Akali ministers and Jathedars wrote letters to the Sant Nirankari-guru addressing him as "Sri Satguru ji". In Akali government of Parkash Singh Badal in 1979, nearly twenty leading L.A.S. and P.C.S. officers were Sant Nirankari *chelas*. Balwant Gargi in his biography of Nirankari Baba Gurbachan Singh gives an eye-witness account of Financial Commissioner, Hardev Singh Chhina and his wife Naresh drinking the footwash of Nirankari Baba Gurbachan Singh for spiritual enlightenment immediately after gulping down many glasses of whisky which was freely served and enjoyed," writes Balwant Gargi in his official Biography.

“Naresh had emptied her glass and fixed herself an-other. She took a short gulp and said dreamily “I am happy.” Chhina said strongly, “Babaji is the tangible form of the Formless.”

“Naresh served Baba mutton and chicken on a small table before his *divan* and he removed his garland... We looked through the beaded string partition and saw Naresh kneel down and wash Baba’s feet, and Chhina receiving this water in the crystal bowl. She dried his feet and kissed them, then kissed the towel. Chhina stood up with the bowl and brought it before a white-bearded man sitting next to Baba. The man held the bowl, brought it carefully to his lips, and took a sip. The bowl was carried on around the room. Each drank and then it was set down on a sidetable.” Mter this drinking of footwash which the Sant Nirankaris called’ *Amrit*’, everyone drank whisky to his fill.⁵

Historical facts have been given about these religious groups, *Udasis*, *Nirmalas*, *Nirankaris* (original pietists) because Hew McLeod has, throughout his books, misrepresented them and has given very clumsy and contemptuous views about them and other Sant Babas. Apart from Nineteenth century reform movements, the future of these groups depends exclusively on their ability to maintain the moral and spiritual idealism of their leaders. The Udasis, the Nirmalas and Sewa Panthis have considerable resources and idealism which can help in their renewal. Akali Jathedars who tried to capture some of the *deras* of these saints, have become as corrupt as *Masands* and I have no doubt that they will be eliminated completely from the religious and political field in the near future. Their sinking boats will be swept away by the rising tides of revolt against hypocrisy, duplicity and treachery in the religious and political fields in this country.

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CHAPTER 10

**PATH OF SUFFERING MARTYRDOM AND MILITANT
RESISTANCE AGAINST TYRANNY AND
STATE-TERRORISM**

European writers and following them, many Hindu and Muslim historians have expressed their views on military preparedness and armed resistance of Guru Hargobind, the sixth Guru and his grandson Guru Gobind Singh, against armed attacks on them. While giving critical analysis and assessment of the life and character of the Sikh Gurus, they tend to see everything from the Mughal point of view and have never cared to study the basic facts of the life, teachings, and the ideals of these Gurus, nor have they cared to study the historical context of the purely defensive battles which the sixth and tenth Guru had to fight. After the martyrdom of Guru Arjun executed by the orders of Jahangir, Guru Hargobind, his son had to fight three battles and one skirmish with a Zamindar during the reign of Shah Jahan. After the martyrdom of Guru Tegh Bahadur, his son Guru Gobind Singh had to fight a number of battles. The battles of both the Gurus are explained as revenge attacks, although none of these battles was an attack, and no revenge of any kind was involved, a fact which most of the non-Sikh historians, who have not cared to study the lives of the Gurus, in correct historical perspective, have ignored.

GURU HARGOBIND'S BATTLES

It was Emperor Jahangir by whose orders Guru Arjun suffered martyrdom on 30th May, 1606 A.D. He had come to the throne on 12 October 1605, and when his son

Khusro escaped from confinement on April 16, 1606 he chased him, arrested him and blinded him. In the heat of punishing all those who had helped Khusro, he ordered the death of Guru Arjun and confiscation of his property. Apart from imprisonment of Guru Hargobind in the Gwalior Fort which also did not take place immediately, the attitude of jahangir towards Guru Hargobind was friendly for the next twenty years of his reign and no battle was fought by Guru Hargobind with the Emperor who ordered the cruel death of his father, Guru Arjun.

Three battles were fought only in Shahjahan's reign after 1628. The dates of these three battles are fixed by some historians between 1628-1634, a period of six years and by others in the years 1634-35. All these battles were defensive battles, although the Guru's army suffered losses, the battles were morally assertive victories. Therafter Shah Jahan never touched Guru Hargobind but on the other hand, established friendly relations with him and with Guru Hari Rai who also maintained an army of 2200 horse-men. The very idea of revenge or offense or violence was completely absent. The Guru won the respect of those with whom he fought the battles. His period of Guruship from 1606 to 1645 was of peace, travels for missionary work, and organization of the Vdasi missionary order. Once the Mughal Emperors were convinced that Guru Hargobind used his sword and army not for aggression but for the defence of the faith and liberty of his follow-ers, neither jahangir nor Shahjahan hindered or put any obstacle in his movement in Punjab, Kashmir, V.P. and the jungle area of Malwa where he established innumerable missionary centres. Shah jahan befriended Guru Had Rai who under orders from Guru Hargobind continued to maintain a well-equipped army. Dara Shikoh became his devotee and admirer, and when Dara Shikoh was in distress, Guru Hari Rai helped him and protected him during his bid to escape the hotly chasing army of Aurangzeb. To protect the saintly in distress was one of the objective of the Guru's military preparedness.

GURU GOBIND SINGH'S BATTLES

Guru Tegh Bahadur suffered martyrdom on November 11, 1675. The cause of the martyrdom and its immediate reactions are stated by his son, Guru Gobind Singh in his incomplete Autobiography, *Bachiter Natak : Apni Katha*. Its last chapter was written sometime between 1695-1697 A.D.

When I was mature enough
 To shoulder duties and responsibilities,
 My father left for the Heavenly Home.
 He sacrificed his life
 For protecting the rights of the Hindus,
 To wear their sacred thread and frontal marks.
 In the *kali-age* of ignorance,
 Guru Tegh Bahadur performed
 A supremely heroic act;
 He sacrificed his head without uttering
 Even a stifled voice of pain or agony.
 For the sake of divine Righteousness,
 He thus, performed a great heroic deed.
 He readily sacrificed his head, '
 But he did not give up his conviction.
 He refused to perform a miracle
 To save his life, a cheap theatrical act,
 True prophets of God are ashamed
 Of displaying their occult powers.
 Guru Tegh Bahdur broke this earthly vase
 On the head of Aurangzeb;
 And went to the Abode of God.
 No one has ever done such a unique deed,
 Like the self-sacrifice of Guru Tegh Bahadur.
 When Guru Tegh Bahadur was beheaded,
 There was great mourning throughout the world.
 Alas, Alas, rose the wailing cries in the world
 Shouts of Glory, Glory unto the Guru
 Resounded in the Heavens.

Guru Gobind Singh :
Bachitar Natak : Apni Katha, Chapter 5

This historic fact is supported in all its details by Kavi Samapati, court-poet and first biographer of Guru Gobind Singh. Kavi Sainapati says:

By his supreme sacrifice,
 Guru Tegh Bahadur protected,
 The rights of Hindus to wear
 Their sacred thread and frontal marks,
 And worship in their temples.
 The compassionate Guru Tegh Bahadur,
 Firmly established everyone's right to worship;
 For the sake of this act of divine Righteousness
 Guru Tegh Bahadur departed to heaven
 In his place, Guru Gobind Singh became Guru ¹

This historical fact is also supported by Mani Singh's *Sakhi Pothi* (Ms: 1736 A.D.), whose eldest brother Bhai Dayal Das suffered martyrdom with Guru Tegh Bahadur and by *ShahZd-Bilas* of Kavi Sewa Singh. Koer Singh in his *Gurbiliis*, Sarup Das Bhalla in *Mehma Prakash* quote *Bachiter Natak* verbatim.² It is quite clear that Guru Tegh Bahadur offered his life as a sacrifice at the altar of freedom of worship for all. His son, young Gobind had himself suggested to his father this course of action. The question of revenge did not arise.

Guru Gobind Singh ascended the Pontific throne in November 1675. He inherited not only spiritual and temporal powers of the Guru but also a well-equipped army, in which the five sons of Bibi Viro (Guru Tegh Bahadur's only sister) were the outstanding regiment commanders. He had to fight his first battle thirteen years after the martyrdom of his father at Bhagani near Paonta Sahib when he was living a peaceful and creative life for nearly four years, as guest of the Nahan Raja. About sixteen Hindu Hill Chiefs attacked him led by Fateh Shah of Sri Nagar, Bhim Chand of Kahlur. On his side the Muslim Pir Buddhu Shah and his sons fought the battle. Guru Gobind Singh gave a stunning defeat to all and could have occupied the territory of at least three or four Hindu Chiefs living in his neighbourhood, but when they repented and sought forgiveness only to cheat and betray the Guru again, he forgave them but never compromised on political and moral principles. This battle was fought on 18 September, 1688 A.D. Between 1688 and 1695 A.D. all the

battles were fought with Shivalik Hindu Hill Chiefs in some of which they acquired the support of Lahore Governor, but always suffered defeat.

Prince Muazzam (later Bahadur Shah) had been arrested by Aurangzeb in March, 1687 with all his family and personal staff. Only Bhai Nand Lall had escaped and became a disciple of Guru Gobind Singh. After seven years he was released on May 24, 1695. Aurangzeb was so upset by the reports sent by Hindu Hill Chiefs about Guru Gobind Singh that he sent Prince Muazzam with an army of five lakhs to punish and arrest Guru Gobind Singh. But instead of attacking the Guru he sent two envoys to investigate the complaints against the Guru. He reported back to his father that all reports of Hindu Chiefs against Guru Gobind Singh were false. Aurangzeb sent four military officers for direct investigation. They not only supported Prince Muazzam's stand but also punished those who had betrayed Guru Gobind Singh.³

On all these battles of Guru Gobind Singh, Dr A.C. Banerjee has given a firm opinion after a historical analysis. He says, "The entire narrative is obviously based on a single idea-the implacable hostility of the Hill Rajas to the Gurus. The Mughals came as a subsidiary force; the ferocity of the imperial officers increased as a result of their repeated failures and culminated in the execution of the Guru's innocent sons. It is a struggle primarily between the Gurus and the Hill Rajas."⁴

All the theories constructed by ignorant as well as biased European and Indian historians suggesting that Guru Gobind Singh went to Paonta Sahib for fear of being taken as hostage or for avenging his father's martyrdom indicates that these scholars and historians, no matter how eminent in their status and position, have never taken any serious interest in investigating the historical truth of the lives of Guru Hargobind or Guru Gobind Singh.

Martyrdom is unknown and alien to Hindu culture, history and religion. No matter how brave the Rajputs

were and no matter how fearless Hindu sanyasis, yogis and saints were, they found escape from the danger of moral crisis or physical danger in self-immolation, rather than suffering at the hands of the tyrant and facing martyrdom. The Sikh concept of martyrdom comes close to Christian concept and the Sufi concept. It differs from the orthodox Islamic concept which associates it with *Jehad* and bigotry. Bhai Gurdas tells us that a sincere and true Sikh must have three basic qualities of *Sabr* (patience), *Sidq* (unshakable and deep faith) and *shahtd*, the spirit of a martyr.⁵

Many absurd comments are made by biased critics when Guru Gobind Singh on the Baisakhi gave a call that he wanted disciples who could offer their heads to him. Though no one in his right mind has doubted the historicity of this event, but persons calling themselves scientific historians have posed unscientific and irrational questions, doubting eye-witness accounts. They do not know that most of the early writers of *Rahitnamas* were present there. Hundreds of those who took the baptism immediately after the incident were eye-witnesses and many of them like Bhai Mani Singh lived upto 1734 A.D. The Holy Mother Mata Sahib Devi who participated in the ceremony lived for nearly three and half decades after the event to recount the details of the event.

Guru Gobind Singh merely repeated in more practical and dramatic form what Guru Nanak openly said to all his disciples:

If you desire to play the game of love
Carry your head on your palm in complete dedication,
Then enter the path of my Faith.
If on this path you wish to tread
Hesitate not to sacrifice your head.

A.G. Guru Nanak, *Shloka Vadhik*, 20

Guru Amar Das also says

A scholarly seeker must seek
Initiation (dikhyii) from the Satguru
He should offer his head

at the feet of the Satguru

A.G. Guru Amar Das, *Malar*, 10

What Guru Gobind Singh did was in the spiritual traditions of Guru Nanak. It was nothing more, nothing less. He wanted to know “who was willing to play the “Game of Love” in the spiritual tradition of Guru Nanak. That is why the five who came forward are now known as the *Panj Pyaras*, the Dearest Five. He honoured them by bending his knees before them and calling them collectively his Master and he called himself their disciple. As Dr Sinha puts it, “He left the care of the flock as well as his Army not to a single person but to the whole community. He placed his faith in the collective wisdom of the people and not in the devotion of a favourite disciple.”

“He ordained the Khalsa to give dignity, prestige, equality and spiritual as well as political power to persons of the lowest castes and profession. History has proved that he infused moral, spiritual and cultural equality among all who entered the Brotherhood. No caste, colour, or racial bars were placed for persons entering the Khalsa Brotherhood. “

“Guru Gobind Singh - in Him, Guru Nanak’s sword is unsheathed. The Buddha had stood between the doe and the huntsman, the Christ, between the people and the tyrants, and rulers, the kings. It is here too the same mercy, the same compassion. The Guru tore humanity into no sects; Hindus and Muslims met round him as Disciples. With the Guru, Heaven unsheathed its sword to save the people from both religious and political oppression, the fanatic, savage oppression of the oppressors.”⁶

The sword of the Sikh like the sword of the Japanese Samurai has “thus a double office to perform: to destroy anything that opposes the will of its owner and to sacrifice all the impulses that arise from the instinct of self-preservation. The sword comes to be identified with the annihilation of things that lie in the way of peace, justice, progress and humanity. It stands for all that is desirable for

the spiritual welfare of the world at large.”⁷ But Guru Gobind Singh made the Sikhs conscious of the fact that they could do something for the political, cultural and spiritual welfare of the world only if they were morally and politically strong enough to preserve their own faith, culture and political freedoms.

Hinduism dominated by ascetic ideals of Sannyasa, Yoga, renunciation of the world have believed by and large in self-immolation a spiritual escape of a weak mind and soul who burns his body. Only the Rajputs and the Marathas used the sword. But the Rajputs lost all the glory and grandeur by offering not only their services to the Mughals, but even their most beautiful princesses. It is now an open chapter of history that Shivaji’s inspiration came from the Saint Ramdas and Ramdas came under the spell of Guru Hargobind - a fact confirmed by Sikh as well as Maratha history.

Sant Ramdas was 13 years younger than Guru Hargobind. After 12 years of intense meditation (*tapasya*) at a very young age he went to the north and visited many places of pilgrimage. He met Guru Hargobind in Kash-mir. Surprised to see a successor of Guru Nanak wearing swords and followed by pious devotees and armed Sikhs, he jokingly asked the Guru, “I hear that you are occupy-ing the *gaddi* of Guru Nanak, a *fakir*. How is that you call yourself *Sacha Patshah* (True King), live in royal style, and keep an army? What is all this and why these changes ?” What kind of a Sadhu you are I do not understand.” Guru Hargobind politely and with great respect replied:

Interiorly I am a *fakir*
Outwardly I live in royal style.
My sword and weapons
Are for the protection,
of the poor and oppressed.
They are a flame of death,
For tyrants and oppressors,
Which they have to taste.
Guru Nanak never renounced the world
He renounced *maya*, the world-attractions.⁸

Sant Ramdas, a Brahmin saint, worshipper of god Rama was greatly impressed. When Guru Hargobind assed away in 1644, he came back to his native land Maharashtra. He initiated Shivaji in 1649 and his advice to Shivaji is recorded in his work *Dasabodh*. He said, "You should adorn your body not with clothes and ornaments but by shrewdness and wisdom. The Mohammadens have been spreading oppression throughout India for a long time. You should be always on the guard. When God once calls a man His own, one cannot imagine what he may do. His efforts, his alertness, his courage in the nick of the time, his great powers are all of them gifts of God. To spread the cause of God, to protect the Brahmins, to help one's subjects are all of them gifts of God. You should use them as such."⁹ Ramdas however instructed Shivaji to save the much discredited Brahmanism from lower castes.

Sri Aurobindo, the greatest Sage-philosopher of our times, comments on the heroic spirit of Rajputs, Marathas and the Khalsa. He says "The Rajputs maintained their independence until the time of Akbar and his successors and it was in the end partly with the aid of Rajput princes acting as their generals and ministers that the Mughals completed their sway over the East and South."¹⁰

"The Maratha revival inspired by Ramdas' conception of the Maharashtra Dharma and cast into shape by Shivaji was an attempt to restore what could still be un-derstood or remembered of the ancient form and spirit, but it failed, as all attempts to revive the past must fail, in spite of the spiritual impetus and the democratic forces that assisted in its inception. The Pe shwas for all their genius lacked the vision of the founder and could only establish a military and political confedracy. And their endeavour to found an empire could not succeed because It was inspired by a regional patriotism that failed to enlarge *itself* beyond its own limits and awaken to the living Ideal of United India."¹¹

"The Sikh Khalsa on the other hand was an astonishingly original and novel creation and its face was turned

to the future.” Talking of the later period Sri Aurobindo rightly says, “Apart and singular in its theocratic head and democratic soul and structure, its profound spiritual beginnings, it first attempted to combine the deepest elements of Islam and Vedanta, it was a pre-mature drive towards an entrance into the third or spiritual stage of human society, but it could not create between the spirit and the external life the transmitting medium of a rich creative thought and culture.”¹² Such are the perceptions of all enlightened and unbiased Hindu and Muslim sage-scholars about the Khalsa Brotherhood and the militant spirit of the Sikhs.

Historians and scholars who do not have access to original sources of Sikh history can be forgiven for misstatements of facts and even misinterpreting historical movements. A scholar who sees the Mughal period of Sikh history from Mughal point of view and British period from the British point of view is not likely to understand Sikhs or Sikhism, but still these historians accumulate some facts to give a point of view. But Hew McLeod does not consider his moral duty to give any source of his theories about the Sikh social, religious and political structures. Banking on his knowledge of *Janamsakhis* and *Rahitnamas*, which a housewife with primary education of Punjabi can understand, and his pretensions to know all about Sikh scriptures and historical documents, McLeod constructs his own irrational mathematical formulas for analysing the noblest ideals of Sikhism, and applies them with un-scrupulous vulgarity to the Gurus, and the most important and significant events of Sikh history, religion and culture.

Historians like Isaiah Berlin are of the opinion that “historians must judge historical figures like Napoleon, Changez Khan, Hitler and Stalin on the basis of their acts of tyranny and despotism. Prof. Knowles says that historians must not pronounce moral judgements.”¹³ But Croce firmly states, “those who, on the plea of narrating history, bristle about as judges, condemning here and giving ablu-
tion

there, because they think that this is the office of history, are generally recognized as devoid of historical sense.”¹⁴

But Hew McLeod belongs to an entirely different species of historians and scholars, a species which is not quite rare in the Western world. Like the medieval Qazis known for their corruption and more so like many corrupt Indian judges today, he acts not only as a very arrogant judge but a hanging judge, who can invent facts, which have no historical or social basis to fulfil his lust for passing perverted judgement and he puts on the scaffold everyone who falls in his net. He crosses all limits of academic propriety, respect for truth, and minimum moral scruples required by a scholar writing about a religion not his own, and a people for whose history and doctrines, he gives vent to naked hostility and ingrained contempt.

HEW MCLEOD'S ABSURD THEORIES ABOUT VULGAR JAT
CULTURAL - COERCION OF SIKHISM AND THE MINDS OF GURU
HARGOBIND AND GURU GOBIND SINGH

Without writing a word about the ethnic origin and migration of Jat tribes into Punjab and other north Indian states, Hew McLeod presents the Jats (pronounced Jutts) as a rustic and barbaric tribe which kept long uncut hair and had distinguished themselves in unprudent and savage use of the sword. “For centuries the sword of the Jats could not restrain itself from drinking blood again and again, and the Jat sword found Sikhism a haven for giving vent to its tribal passions. Once they became a dominant majority during the period of Guru Arjun, even Guru Hargobind and Guru Gobind Singh could not control them. Both the Gurus surrendered and sacrificed the best that was in Guru Nanak’s faith at the altar of powerfull at cultural lobby within Sikhism.” For the first time he projects this theory in his book “*Evolution of the Sikh Community*”; and reasserts it in all his subsequent books. We give it in a nutshell and we quote only from this book.

His first statement is that Guru Arjun founded the

cities Tarn Taran, Sri Hargobindpur and Kartarpur in the Jat territory. Even Jahangir ordered the execution of Guru Arjun not because he was reported to have extended moral and political sympathy to Khusro, not because of his religious and political influence but because of predominant presence of Jats amongst the fifth Guru's followers.

According to Hew McLeod both Guru Hargobind and Guru Gobind Singh were so submissive to external influences that when Guru Hargobind shifted to Kiratpur, he and his grandson Guru Gobind Singh came under the spell of shakti-worshippers and accepted Chandi worship. He gives as evidence, Guru Gobind Singh's use of the word *All-Steel Sarb-Loh* for God (p. 13). Guru Gobind Singh thus became a helpless victim at the hands of Jats whose craze for using sword indiscriminately was beyond his control.

Hew McLeod's ingenuity in concocting utterly false facts crosses all limits of intellectual scruples, when he first gives one page summary of Guru Gobind Singh's call on Baisakhi 1699, the day 'Khalsa' was ordained. He calls this historical incident for which there is overwhelming contemporary and near contemporary evidence "*a tradition*", and proclaims with his usual oracular arrogance, "Tradition abounds but so too do compulsive reasons for scepticism. What we do know, however, indicates that the traditions relating to the period of Guru Gobind must be wiped clean and must not be reinscribed until we have ascertained just what did take place during the eighteenth century." According to his own brand of historiography he finds no explanation on the events between 1699-1708 when Guru Gobind Singh was alive but asks his readers to accept the fulfilment of his theory which he reveals in late eighteenth century events. If one did not understand the most important event of Cromwell's life, he must read Queen Victoria's life and period; he will get the answer according to McLeod's techniques of historiography. There is a saying that if a dirty pond in Punjab wishes to give evidence of being very clean and refreshing it

pre-sents the frog as its witness. Hew McLeod presents in a footnote on this page Dr J.S. Grewal as his witness although Dr Grewal in his casually written essay does not support any part of McLeod's theory.

McLeod further says that the Five K's which Guru Gobind Singh imposed on the Khalsa Holy Order were also done by the Guru to accept 'Jat cultural patterns', because it was the age old Jat-custom to keep uncut hair and also to keep the sword." He says that "the custom

prevailed among Hindu and Muslim Jats" (p. 52), a fact which has no historical basis and in support of which he does not quote any authority on the ethnic behaviour and life-style of Jats. According to him Khalsa code and discipline was only Jat-cultural pattern and discipline (p. 58). He has repeated these ideas in all his books written after this without giving any evidence worth the name. He calls even Bala's *janam-sakhi* a Jat *janam-sakhi* thereby suggesting that *Puratan janamsakhi* could be named Bhapa *janamsakhi*, because he asserts that Jats contemptuously call all Aroras and Katris *Bhiipis*, a fact which is incorrect.

In Malwa a brother is addressed as *Baiji* (diminution of Bhai); in Jullundur Doaba he is addressed as *Bira ji* (Sk Vira = Brother). These two words are used in *Gurbani*. In *Majha* a brother is addressed as *Bhau*; but in Rawalpindi area a brother is addressed as Bhapa, and those people are proud of being addressed as such even now. This style of address and their sweet language appeared odd in *Majha* and Malwa, but their impact has brought a good deal of refined manner of speech which is now being gratefully appreciated all over Punjab.

Before we comment on Hew McLeod's unsubstantiated and outrageously absurd statements about the role of Jats in Sikh history, who according to him destroyed all concerns of Guru Nanak about his religion, and who by virtue of their overwhelming majority were able to treat Guru Hargobind and Guru Gobind Singh as helpless tools, ready to surrender everything that was ideal in the religion of Guru Nanak to Jat-culture, we

must state who the Jats were by ethnic origin.

JATS IN INDIAN HISTORY

Jats were unknown in Indian history before eighth century A.D. We first find them mentioned in *Chachnama* and the writings of Yuan Chwang. They were believed to be scythians in origin and migrated into border regions of India along with Bals, Gujjars, Huns and other tribes. In the 8th century their concentrated population was found only in Sindh and according to Yuan Chwang, they were all Buddhists. They did not carry any sword and they did not have any long hair as alleged by Hew McLeod. They were, however, indifferent and grim like some Red Indian tribes. They were cattle grazers and shepherds and hardy people.

The Muslim invasions virtually destroyed Buddhism. Jats who were earlier grazers and herdsmen not only acquired the greatest skill in cattle breeding, but they also became the most hard working farm labourers. Those who could buy land became land owning farmers. Those who became Muslims and Sikhs and joined the peasant uprisings during invasions became Zamindars and Sardars. Waris Shah in his *Hir Ranjha* repeatedly says that one should not take a Jat by his word (*jat da kaul manzur nahi*) but he also tells us that under the inspiration of Sikhism and the spirit of freedom which it inspires, many Sardars established independent kingdoms overnight. (*uth desh de jat sardar hoe, gharo ghari navi sarkar hoi*). Whether Sikhism was accepted by a Jat, or a carpenter, or a kalal, or a cobbler - all low caste people in Hindu society became *Sardars*. The word Sardar according to Steingas' Persian Dictionary means "A General, Field Marshal, Officer of rank, King's lieutenants, a Chief in any department, a prince, a paragon."

Ibbetson and Rose, in their three volumes of detailed study of Tribes and Castes of Punjab and N.W. Frontiers, give accurate data based on information acquired from each tribe.

The Jats were divided into tribes and their pride and vanity in their tribe was ingrained. Randhawa, Mann, Bhangu, Ghuman, Bains, Chahal were names of tribes and they still retain their tribal names and vanity labels. There are Muslim Virks, Manns, Bhullar, Gills etc. and also Sikh Virks, Manns etc. In Punjab (India and Pakistan) hardly threteenth of the Jats settled. Seventeenth or perhaps even more are found in Haryana, V.P., Bikaner and many regions of Rajasthan like Jaipur, Alwar, Bharatpur are Jat territories. Those who became rich *zamindars* did keep swords and horses, but keeping long hair and the sword is never known to be a part of Jat culture of this or any other region as Hew McLeod alleges.

Farming was not done by Jats exclusively. Most of the Kshatriyas who lost their princely prestige, took up farming for honourable living. Guru Gobind Singh tells us:

*bis gaitv tin ke rahi gae
jin mo karat krisani bhae*

To the Bedis were left
Only twenty villages
In which they lived by farming

Guru Gobind Singh :

Bachiter Natak: Apni Katha, Adhya 5, Verse 3

Jats helped as farm labourers. Bala Sandhu was the Jat farm labourer intimately associated with Guru Nanak's family just as Mardana was associated as the Bard. The Jats started having small land-holdings. Guru Nanak's Bedi family were tillers of soil.

Alberuni (973-1030 A.D.) a remarkable Sanskrit and Arabic scholar got the opportunity to study Majha Jats. He calls them "cattle-owners, grazers and low-caste *shudra* people." It is obvious that Hindu society treated them as such. But by entering Muslim and Sikh society and acquiring land they were able to raise their social status. In Rajasthan their inter-marriages with Rajputs gave them political aspirations and with their tribal society they were able to create Jat dominated states like Bharatpur.¹⁵

COMMENTS ON HEW MCLEOD'S PREPOSTEROUS THESIS ABOUT
JAT-CULTURAL DOMINATION ON SIKH GURUS

Hew McLeod builds up this theory based on false and malicious assumptions to prove that Guru Nanak's Nanakpanthi religion was corrupted by the Majha Jat cultural predominance and under their influence Guru Hargobind distanced the new militant Sikhism from Guru Nanak's faith. The question now arises that Guru Nanak spent the last twenty years of his life in this very Majha region. Through his marriage at Batala his family contact existed with this region since early period of his life. The man who offered him land for his Kartarpur shrine was a Jat Zimindar. The man dearest to him next to Angad was Bhai Buddha the Jat who remained Master of Ceremonies upto Guru Hargobind. Jat Zamindars of this region like Ajita Randhawa played a prominent role during the last twenty years of his life. The role of Master of Ceremonies was prerogative of Brahmins in Hindu Society.

Guru Nanak asked his successor to settle at Khadur, the heart of Majha. How did Guru Nanak and his successor Guru Angad escape the pernicious influence of Jat-culture whose uncivilized postures and barbarism Hew McLeod so vehemently highlights. Guru Nanak lived, moved, preached and built his Apostolic centres mainly in this Majha region. Why did not the Jats enforce on Guru Nanak and Guru Angad the basic tribal features of Jat-culture ?

According to Hew McLeod, uncut hair and carrying the sword was a Jat custom and was observed by Hindu Muslim and Sikh Jats. Why then, is not Bhai Bala companion of Guru Nanak ever shown carrying a sword? Bhai Buddha had tremendous influence on Majha Jats. Why is he not shown carrying the sword? Hew McLeod goes to the extent of saying emphatically that "the Five K's reflect the complex of Jat cultural pattern." He gives as evidence Guru Gobind Singh calling God "All-Steel" "Sarb Loh." How ridiculous and far-fetched is this suggestion can be judged from the testimony of Guru Gobind Singh.

In his *Bachiter Natak*, *Akal Ustat* and a few other compositions Guru Gobind Singh mentions all the prominent races of India, China and Europe as well as the Middle East. But he does not mention the word “Jat” even once, because the Jat tribe had not acquired any prominence.

Guru Gobind Singh gave many new Attributive Names to God: *Sri Tegh*, *Sri Asi* (Glorious Sowrd), *Asidwajh* (He whose Banner is the Sword”, *Sarb-Loh* (All-Steel). These concepts are neither found in Jat-culture, nor in Hindu or Muslim culture.

*Degh O Tegh O Fateh nusrat be-dirang
yaft az Nanak, Guru Gobind Singh*

Guru Gobind Singh received from Guru Nanak
The Sword, the Bowl and Victory Unfailing.

Guru Gobind Singh,
Trans. Sir Muhammed Iqbal

Edmund Candler has rightly said: “When Guru Gobind inaugurated the sacrament of steel he proved himself a wise and far-sighted leader. For, of all material thing which genius has inspired with spiritual significance steel is the truest and most uncompromising. Let humanitarians prate as they will, there never has been a race who have not been purged and refined by it. In some it is the only combater of grossness and the monster of self. To the Khalsa it gave a cause and welded them into a nation; and in the dark days of Muhammadan rule in the middle of the eighteenth century, when the Sikh was slain at night and no quarter was given, it drove them on those gallant crusades in which they rode to Amritsar in the dead of night, leapt into the sacred tank and out again, and galloped back through the enemies’ lines purified. Hundreds were slain, but not one abjured his faith or perjured his soul to preserve “his muddy vesture of decay.”¹⁶

This is the opinion of a scholar who was contemporary of Dr Ernest Trumpp, but unlike Trumpp made an unbiased indepth study of Sikhism and the military achievements of the Sikhs.

Ignoring all historical records based on contemporary evidence Hew McLeod arrogantly suggests that all this evidence of authentic Sikh documents should be wiped clean from the slate on which the irrefutable truth of Sikh history is prescribed. All his distorted conjectural and perverted theories that have come as a demonic brain-wave to destroy the foundations of Sikhism must be inscribed. He always emphasizes on “must be rejected” and “must be accepted or inscribed”. No historian worth the name should fail to note that Mata Sahib Devi who actively participated in the ordaining of the Khalsa lived for four decades after the incident. The *Panj Pyaras*, the Five who were first declared the *Panj Pyaras*, the Beloved Five Elect lived for at least two to three decades. The first twenty five to take *Amrit* included Bhai Mani Singh who lived upto 1734 A.D. All the original *Rehitnamas* were written on the basis of first hand experiences of these Apostles.

In order to explain the ordaining of Khalsa on Baisakhi he turns to the late eighteenth century. In order to understand Cromwell's life and work he will ask the British historians to study the history of First World War. In order to understand Queen Elizabeth's reign one must turn to Chaucer's Canterbury Tales. This is Hew McLeod's brand of scientific historiography which he is addressing to those scholars who are mature in western historiography: All historiography - western or eastern demands honesty, sincerity and love for truth in analysing and giving exposition of religions other than one's own. No sensible and mentally as well as morally balanced intellectual, scholar or historian can ever give credence to such conjectural nonsense as constructed and presented by Hew McLeod in his books, unless, he has like him, avowed hostile attitude and malevolent intentions.

Hew McLeod presents the Jats as a highly and powerful caste during the life-time of Guru Hargobind, but the author of *Dabistan* who met Guru Hargobind and Guru Hari Rai describes the Jats as “the lowest caste of *Vaishyas*”.

Waris Shah in the middle of eighteenth century describes the Jats as “low caste people, attractive physically but untrustworthy morally.”¹⁷

SIKH TEMPLES, LANGAR AND RELIGIOUS FUNCTIONS CASTELESS

Unlike Hindu temples, Sikh temples are casteless, raceless. Persons of every nation, every country, every religion can enter the Sikh temple and participate in the services. Without the slightest suspicion or objection they will be treated with as much respect as is given to the devout and orthodox. No special place is allotted to any dignitary or wealthy man, or even holyman.

Priests appointed for services in the Golden Temple *sanctum sanctorum* and other historical shrines are from all castes, and very rarely from Brahmin castes. The open kitchen attached to all Sikh temples are casteless and classless. One can see a poor coolie or rickshaw puller proudly sitting side by side with a minister and the wealthy person. Upto 1947 seven of the fifteen Kirtan singers in the Golden temple were Sahajdharis and Muslim bards having low status in Muslim society. On the question of marriages Sikh religion left the choice to the families. No laws were made to stress that one must or must not marry in a caste outside one's own. How many Christian missionaries have married Black women just to show that Christianity prohibits colour prejudices. According to his own logic Hew McLeod should have married a Black lady. The Church has to leave these sensitive issues to individual choices. In Punjab a goldsmith's daughter could not work with a farmer in the fields. A Jat's daughter could not sit in the house of a shopkeeper and serve in his household as he desired. For professional and other reasons the marriages were mostly within the same district and within known families of one's professional or class. But in religious functions, assemblies and temples there was no caste or class prejudice.

“Sikhism inspired all low caste people to rise to the highest social, cultural and political consciousness. In the

first battle of Guru Hargobind, many Muslims and Sikhs who were earlier Jats, carpenters, scavengers died fighting heroically. But the names of those two who fought very bravely and laid down their lives are Bhai Ballu, grandfather of Bhai Mani Singh and Bhatta Kirat whose hymn are included in *Guru Granth*. In the first few battles described by Guru Gobind Singh in his autobiography, we find the names of many heroes. There are Brahmin, Kshatriya, Muslim and other warriors of many social status (castes and tribes), but very few Jats are mentioned. Bhai Gurdas has given the names of the prominent Sikhs of Guru Atjun and Guru Hargobind whose family indentifications are given. Hardly five percent are Jats. The suggestion that Jats dominated in the armies of the Sikh Gurus has no historical basis. It is a figment of Hew McLeod's wild imagination.

During the Guru-period the battles were fought in a well-organized manner. Diplomatic efforts for peace were never given up, because Aurangzeb's son and prospective heir, Bahadur Shah was a friend. But Banda Bahadur ushered an era of total revolt and total revolution in which every person living in the rural area was involved. 'The Creation of the Khalsa', Says Dr Hari Ram Gupta the doyen of Sikh history, "was an epoch-making event in the religious and political history of the country. It marked the beginning of the use of a new people, destined to play the role of the high caste people over their brethren; the *shudras* were set at naught as soon one formed the ranks, of the Khalsa, where all were equal and rendered one another every help and useful service. Their only difficulty lay in destroying the organized oppression of the tyrannical despotism of the Mughal Government. Under the direction of the Guru, the Khalsa took up the profession of arms and the results were most surprising. The people lowliest of the low, who had lived for centuries under complete servility now turned into doughty warriors, the praises of whose physique and valour were sung by the whole world including the bitterest foes."¹⁸

But Banda saw the Mughal Empire collapsing. As Professor Sri Ram Sharma puts it. “No wonder, therefore, that, “when the breath left the body of Bahadur Shah, no member of the house of Timur remained in India,” who was fit to take the helm of the ship of state, which soon drifted on the rocks.” The degraded wretches “that polluted the throne of Akbar deserve only a passing notice; the rest of our history is filled with the tragedy of the disruption of the splendid edifice reared and fostered by the great Mughals. The *faineant* Emperors appear only like ghouls in the thickening gloom of the night. The real makers of the history of the future, except in a negative sense, are no longer descendants of Babur, but their ri-vals and enemies.”¹⁹

The Spirit of the Khalsa worked a miracle. A people who, numerically were less than half a million, woke up from the sleep of centuries of submission to the mighty and powerful. The phenomenon is aptly described by a contemporary Mughal Chrmocler: “In his zeal for the emanicipation of the persecuted and down-trodden, he (Banda) earned the blessings of the poor and the desti-tute whose cries had not been heard by anyone for cen-turies past. He raised the lowliest of the low to the highest position under his government. The untouchables and the unapproachables, the so-called sweepers and pariahs, were raised to the position of rulers.” A low scavenger or leather-dresser, the lowliest of the low in Indian estima-tion had only to leave home and join Banda, when in a short time he would return to his birth place as its ruler with his order of appointment in his hands. The well- born and wealthy went out to greet him and escort him. Arrived there, they stood before him with joined hands, awaiting his orders. Not a soul dared to disobey an order, and men, who had often risked themselves in battle-fields, became so cowed down that they were afraid even to re-monstrate.”²⁰ Let it be noted that Banda was not a Jat.

Hew McLeod asserts that Hargobindpur and Kartarpur regions were overwhelmingly Jat areas, but throughout

the eighteenth century they were strong-holds of Jassa Singh Ramgarhia and Jassa Singh Ahluwalia. The Jat Sikhs did not hobnob with Muslim or Hindu Jats, but worked shoulder to shoulder with Sikhs of other low caste origin like Tarkhans, Kalals, and among the heroes who performed memorable feats were pariahs of the lowest status, who were not only given equality in society but equal opportunity to attain the highest position as leaders.

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 Guru, Gobind Singh Kahlae
 Kavi Sainapati: *Sri Gur-Sobha*, Adh:I, Verse 16
2. The learned historian Dr Fauja Singh wrote an article in Guru Nanak Dev University's 'Journal of Sikh Studies' Vol. I, No. 1, Feb. 1974 entitled "Execution of Guru Tegh Bahadur", based mainly on *Siyarul-Muta'khirin*, suggesting that the martyrdom of Guru Tegh Bahadur had nothing to do with the cause of the Brahmins, but was according to Mughallaws for raising armed struggle against the Mughals. My attention was drawn to it by Dr A.C. Banerjee. As Editor Prof Pritam Singh allowed only five pages, I sent a small Rejoinder-article which was not published as article but as letter to the Editor. But strong comments from the scholars published in other magazines set off a hot debate which lasted for two years when I was away in U.K. and U.S.A. The majority of the scholars supported by historically correct stand in my biography: *Guru Tegh Bahadur : Prophet and Martyr*. Sardar Kapur Singh's article "Who Killed Guru Tegh Bahadur" and his subsequent lecture in Punjabi University in the presence of Dr Ganda Singh, Dr Fauja Singh and others, almost silenced the odd theories refuting many authentic documents. Recently a self-styled historian, Mr Sher Singh, L.A.S., whose tendency is to go out of the way to please the Establishment and distort well established facts has criticized Sardar Kapur Singh's article "Who Killed Guru Tegh Bahadur, on martyrdom issue in a Muslim paper, in which he projects Aurangzeb as a saint par-excellence and justifies the martyrdom as a just execution. He ignores the evidence of Guru Gobind Singh about his father's martyrdom, and in order to show off his knowledge of Persian documents he gives utterly misleading

and untenable comments on these documents in his article in *Sikh Review*, Calcutta Feb. 1991. Mr. Sher Singh quotes a verse from Bhai Nand Lall's *Ganjnama* and says, he does not mention the martyrdom of the Guru. This and other works of Bhai Nand Lall do not mention a single historical fact about the Gurus. Mr. Sher Singh is only misleading those readers who have not read Bhai Nand Lall's *Ganjnama* and other works. Sujan Rai Bhandhari in his *Khulasatut Tawarikh* gives lengthy chapters on jahangir, Shah jahan, and Aurangzeb, but in the end sums up a few incidents of Sikh history. He begins his work with *Bismilla* and tries to be orthodox Muslim in his approach to an extent that Eliot doubted a Hindu could write this. He gives martyrdom as murder and through this state-ment Sher Singh wishes to prove that Aurangzeb is a saint. Accord-ing to him the Guru was imprisoned and murdered by his court-iers and Aurangzeb was ignorant about it. He gives a news report about Guru Tegh Bahadur's travel to Assam but asserts that as there is no mention of Tilak and janju, Guru Gobind Singh's statement about the cause of his father's martyrdom is wrong. This self-styled historian does not know that these news reports were sent about sporadic incidents from distant regions. They do not contain any information either about the martyrdom of Sarmad or of Guru Tegh Bahadur. Bakht Mal gives many aspects of Guru Tegh Bahadur's martyrodm, but his original manuscript was lost. This is a brief summary. He pre-cludes that Aurangzeb was in Delhi. So do a number of other Persian documents.

Mr Sher Singh gives quite misleading information about Koer Singh who refers to *Bachiter Natak* in a number of passages. He thinks without assigning reason that he must have forgotten what Bhai Mani Singh told him about the Gurus when he stood guard as a Mughal sentry on the imprisoned saint. He is also wrong when he says that Bhai Mani Singh does not say anything about the Guru's martyrdom. Bhai Mani Singh's elder brother suffered martyrdom with Guru Tegh Bahadur and he gives correct histori-cal facts in his appended stories to *Sikhan-di-Bhaktmala*, the old-est manuscript of which dated two years after his death is available. In it Bhai Mani Singh clearly supports the *Bachiter Natak* version of Guru Gobind Singh.

Mr Sher Singh quotes a few lines from Haqiqat-i-Binawa Urui-i-Firqa-i-Sikhan written by some Mughal Courtier who like other Persian documents quoted were written for the East India Compa-ny. He attributes the orally heard stories of Guru Gobind Singh that he would make sparrows prey in hawks to ninth Guru and calls him founder of "Khalsa". He makes Guru Tegh Bahadur meet Bahadur Shah. How Can Mr. Sher Singh expect him to know

about his martyrdom at the hands of Aurangzeb. Other Persian documents of the British period quoted by Sher Singh are also equally ill-informed, but those who fix his execution in Delhi state that the Emperor was there and asked Guru Tegh Bahadur to show him a miracle. They blame Ram Rai for poisoning Aurangzeb's mind. Mr Sher Singh completely avoids even mentioning authentic contemporary or near contemporary documents because they are not Muslim or Hindu detractors of the real issues and facts. By reporting what are universally condemned opinions about Aurangzeb's responsibility of executing Guru Tegh Bahadur, Mr Sher Singh may be serving his own interest of pleasing the Establishment and his Masters for personal material benefits but he is certainly not serving the cause of authentic history. Even Dr Fauja Singh retraced his steps after historical investigations and tendered his apology. My son has written a detailed book on martyrdom of Guru Tegh Bahadur to be published shortly. Recently Mr. Sher Singh has written a nasty article in *Sikh Review* against Guru Hargobind on the basis of Trumpp's views and many learned readers have roundly condemned it. To add insult to injury Sher Singh has also criticised all Human Rights Organizations investigating into police and para-military excesses in Punjab and Kashmir where there is no Rule of Law for the last decade. It is a shameful thing that the Indian government is using such Calcutta based Sikh IAS. officer against the Sikhs. I do not blame the government so much as these servile and sychophantic Sikh I.A.S. officers.

3. Guru Gobind Singh has given the details of this historical incident in his Autobiography. *Bachiter Natak*.
4. (i) Dr. A.C. Banerjee, "An Aspect of Guru Gobind Singh's Career", *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. I, 1945.
- (ii) The author of this book read a paper on this theme at the Punjab History Conference entitled: *Political Relations Between Aurangzeb and the Sikh Gurus* published in Punjab History Conference Proceedings 1966, p. 100-117
5. *murda hoe mu rid na galin hovana*
Sabr sidq shahid bharam bhau khovana
Bhai Gurdas, *Var 3*, Pauri 18
6. Puran Singh, *The Spirit of the Sikh*, Vol. 2, part 11, p. 7.
7. Dr. D.T. Suzuki, *Zen and the Japanese Culture*, p. 89.
8. *Pothi Panjah Sakhian*.
9. R.D. Ranade, *Mysticism in Maharashtra*, p. 368.
10. Sri Aurobindo, *The Foundations of Indian Culture*, p. 377. 11. *ibid.*, p. 380.
12. *ibid.*, p. 380.
13. (i) Isaiah Berlin: *Historical Inevitability*, p. 76-77.

- (ii) D. Knowles, *The Historian and Character*, p. 4-12.
- 14. Bendetto Croce: *History as the Story of Liberty*, p. 47
- 15. Information on racial and cultural history of Jats is based on:
 - (i) Qanugo, *History of Jats*, 2 Vols
 - (ii) Ibbetson, McLagan and Rose, *A Glossory of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and N. W Frontier Provinces*
 - (iii) Eliot's *History of India* Vol. 1
 - (iv) *Punjab Ethnology*
 - (v) *Alberuni's India* Tr, Sachan
 - (vi) *Dabistan-i Mazahib*
- 16. Edmund Candler: *The Mantle of the East*, p. 120-21.
- 17. *Waris Shah, Hir*, Ed. Sant Singh Sekhon, Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, p. 37-39.
- 18. Dr Hari Ram Gupta, *Guru Gobind Singh's Creation of the Khalsa* in Perspectives on the Sikh Tradition. Ed: Gurdev Singh, p. 175-76.
- 19. S.R. Sharma, *The Crescent in India*, p. 693.
- 20. William Irvine, *Later Mughals, I*, 98-99.

CHAPTER 11

GURU GRANTH AND CANONIZED SIKH
SCRIPTURES

“The *Adi Guru Granth* presents an ideal human life founded upon religious truths, ethical principles and mystic experiences which have been conceived and intuitively recognized as the highest standard which mankind can and must attain. The kind of life described in it has been the guiding star of all living cultures and civilizations. It is humanistic, liberal, dispensational and profoundly ethical and spiritual. It is the first Scripture of the world which has accepted the writings and wisdom of the Sages of the two mighty religious and philosophic traditions: Vedic and Semitic, and has shown their inner unity in apparent diversity.

Although fifteen pre-Nanak Muslim and Hindu Saints have contributed to the *Adi Guru Granth*, it can be regarded as a single, surpassingly great Book, in which there is remarkable unity of outlook, sincerity of purpose, beauty of poetry and realism of vision. It has really but one theme, man’s search for God, an intense eagerness to understand God’s ways, to realize His nature, to feel His presence and live a mentally, spiritually and culturally healthy life on earth. Though the authors of *Adi Guru Granth* lived in different periods of our history and were heirs of apparently different philosophic traditions, they were all men who were not only passionately in earnest and inspired by a pure and lofty faith but they had achieved the same highest Truth and Light through different religious and spiritual disciplines. Consequently, the language of these Sages, ranging from Prakrit, Apabhramsa to Persian, Hindi and Punjabi, is simple and clear, and their thoughts are

direct and fundamentally alike. Their experiences of God, Truth and Beauty, and their vision of the world and humanity is the same. Their philosophy, in all its essentials is so universal in its spirit and expression, that no one who goes so profoundly deep into life can escape sharing these great truths.”¹

“Take *Guru Granth*, the great Sikh Scripture. I have a personal relation with it” says Puran Singh, “As a Sikh, it is my belief, and my faith that all the great gifts of Divine poetry, of the Realized Being to mankind, the most fascinating is that we Sikhs in the Punjab call *Guru Granth*. It is the Scripture of all nations, for it is the lyric of Divine Love, and all people of this earth subsist on such glowing lyrical prayer! *Guru Granth* is but one song, one idea, one life. Immensity is the substance of the sublime. Is not the sea much simpler than land? Touch it at any point, it is but water. Look at it from any place, it is the sea whose billows capped with white foam dance eternally. It is like the smile of the Infinite. *Guru Granth* is not full of repetition; it has a thousand blank pages with the one song of His heart, copied on every page.”²

It is the misfortune of all prophets and mystics whose faith is based on pure and simple love of God, and God’s love for such devotees, to become merciless targets of hostile and demeaning criticism of prejudiced and fanatically opposing thinkers.

Junayd the leader of the Sufi School of Baghdad, was accused of being atheist, infidel and along with his friends he was publicly accused of heresy. The main accusation against them by theologians was that they discussed the Love of God. The teaching that “I love God and God loves me” was considered intolerable.”³ Ibn Hanbal carried his persecution of Al-Muhasibi to the point of banning his writings and banishing him. The influence of bigots and fanatics forced him to live in retirement, keeping in seclusion and living in great poverty, in his own house. Owing to the hostility of the Hanbalites, only four persons attended the funeral of Al-Muhasibi to offer the

ritual prayers over his body.’³⁴

Similar has been the attitude of fanatic Hindus mostly Brahmins, Mullas and prejudiced Christian missionary scholars like Ernest Trumpp and Hew McLeod towards not only Sikh history and doctrines but even towards Sikh Scriptures. However, eminent a scholar may be his prejudiced attitude, malafide intentions backed by the type of arrogance one finds in Ernest Trumpp and Hew McLeod dries up their moral and spiritual sensitivities, blunts their perceptions of Truth and Beauty in religions other than their own.

But there are some rare persons even among the ordained missionaries in other religions, whose moral and spiritual sensibilities are so refined and pure that they look on other religions with the same reverence as their own. They show as profound respects for prophets and saints of other religions, as they do for their own. And when they read the scriptures of other religions they see the same revelation and the same Light which they see in their own sacred works.

Nearly two decades before Ernest Trumpp’s work appeared and even a year before Davy Cunningham’s History was published, a Christian missionary, Sister Charlottee Marie Tucker learnt Punjabi and Hindi, studied Guru Granth in the original and wrote in 1848,”

As far as I have read, the Guru Granth is wonderfully pure and spiritual. If you could substitute the name “Almighty” for Hari and Lord Jesus for Guru, it might almost seem the composition of hermits in the early centuries except that celibacy is not enjoined. There is something touching in the longing and yearning after God... the intense love for the Name. One might call the Granth the Book of yearning and I feel humiliated that I, with Gospel Light should in spiritual contemplation and longing for closer communion with Deity, come so far behind these poor Sikhs... Guru Granth is the scripture of all nations for it is the lyric of divine love, and all the people of the earth subsist on such glowing lyrical prayer. Guru Granth is but One Song, One Idea and One Life.”³⁵

Two decades before Hew McLeod’s book appeared, the eminent Roman Catholic savant Duncan Greenlees wrote one of the best and a very comprehensive book,

“*The Gospel of Guru Granth*” in 1952, concludes his book saying: “Where the pupil is, there too is the Teacher, and ever more will the Sikhs be alone or deprived of that holy Guru. For He who cannot lie has given the promise that His will always be where only five faithful to His teach-ings and that He will manifest to them through all the councils of His faithful Church. And where only one single Sikh is found? There too is He, abiding in the heart, and residing also in the hymns sung by Him through the hallowed bodies of the Ten - now gathered for the delight and enlightenment of all the ages in the *Guru Granth Sahib*. In the holy presence of the Guru’s Book, the Guru Himself is manifest. Those who love the Book, who cling devotedly to the God whom it proclaims in words of match-less beauty, who seek to spend their every moment at His feet, will be free from every fear, will enter the Heaven of God’s own presence and there attain to everlasting union with the Beloved.”⁶

HEW MCLEOD’S IRRELEVANT AND DECEPTIVE COMMENTS ON GURU GRANTH

Hew McLeod does not give any authentic comments either on the history or structure or doctrines of *Guru Granth*. His sporadic comments in his books are not only highly misleading, but irrelevant and deceptive, so far as the authenticity of text and structure are concerned. We will briefly discuss the irrelevant and deceptive statements, a craft in which he has surpassed all previous hostile critics of Sikhism and *Guru Granth*.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY IN GURU GRANTH

He is not tired of repeating that a scholar who searches historical and biographical facts in *Guru Granth* is disappointed. Anyone who goes through *Guru Granth* even once can be sane enough to say that it is not a work of history or biography. Yet there are a particular type of historical and biographical elements which are found in

the *Guru Granth*. These have a particular singificance. The following are the types:

GOD MAKES HIMSELF FELT IN SHAPING THE DESTINIES OF KINGDOMS AND CIVIIZATION

There are innumerable hymns describing the rise and fall of kings and kingdoms and the ultimate destiny of the people on earth being controlled by God's Will. Some-times examples are given from ancient history. Classic example of the fall of Ravana is given. But the upheavals that took place are vividly described. The cruelty of the kings and ministers, the corrupt judgements and inhu-man behaviour of the Qazis, the Brahmins and the priestly class are given just as the Gurus saw them. *Babarvani* hymns of Guru Nanak are monodies of historical experiences of Babar's invasion, which find their confirmation in the history of the massacre of Eminabad, the plunder and rapine in Lahore and the Battle of Panipat. Guru Nanak describes them as an eyewitness; his lamentation at the fate of the poor and the oppressed are based on eye- witness experience. In that sense they are historical hymns.

GOD'S CONCERN FOR THOSE WHO DEPEND ON HIM

Those who have loved God have always been prepared to suffer even death for their love and faith in Him. One of the recurring themes in *Guru Granth* is that God protects His sincere devotees. Classic examples of Prahlada 'and Dhruva are given. God not only protects saints from tyrants by the intervention of His Divine Power, but he saves even the greatest sinners like Ajamila and Ganika (the courtesan) when they turn to Him with single-minded devotion.

The *Guru Granth* gives the autobiographical episodes from the life of Bhakta Kabir and Namdev. The Bhaktas record their own experiences. Guru Arjun describes a num-ber of experiences from his own life. How God protected him against so many Imperial attacks on his people, and how those who tried to kill his only son

Hargobind were punished and Hargobind was protected by divine intervention. The word *malechha* (barbaric) was used by Hindus for Muslims. But Guru Arjun uses it for the Brahmin who tried to poison his infant son Hargobind. These are historical as well as biographical incidents. The purpose of recording these incidents is to glorify the Gracious concern of God for His devotees.”

GURU NANAK’S PERSONALITY AS REVEALED IN HIS WORKS

During the early years of my writing career I was so attracted towards Plato that I bought his complete works (Jewett’s Tr) which unfortunately do not include the historically important Epistles. I translated some of the smaller dialogues and published them in Punjabi magazines in Lahore.⁷ Only some years ago I looked for the oldest biographies of Plato.

To my amazement I found that the Greeks who invented the scientific study of history had very little idea of applying their historical methods to the biographies of their great men. In the earlier works like *Life of the Phi-losophers* by Diogenes Laertius, *Encomium of Plato* by his nephew Speusippus (his only sister’s only son and successor) we find only strings of anecdotes and incidental comments with little or no chronological comments and no coherent thread running through them.⁸ But it is in his dialogues the historical, cultural background and the personality of Plato leaps to life. Here we meet his relatives, friends, foes, critics, and the tyrants who provoked him to present revolutionary ideas.

The same is true of Guru Nanak. His oldest biography *Janamsakhi* of Bala tradition gives much more historical material on Guru Nanak than we find on Plato’s biographical source books. In Plato’s early biographies no one is sure of either the year or the date of his birth. His age is calculated as 81 by some and 84 by others. We are on much surer ground on Guru Nanak’s date of birth and death. As in Plato, so in Guru Nanak, his personality, his genius, his character and the people whom he

meets and debates vital issues of life leap to life. We meet the exact types of yogis, ascetics, Pundits, priestly Brahmins and Mullas, Rajas and Nawabs, kings and ministers that existed around him. He gives such a vivid portrayals of the last invasions of Babar and its devastating consequences in Punjab that no history of Punjab gives these accounts.

Either unable to study the works of Guru Nanak or unwilling to do so, Hew McLeod not only makes misleading comments about *Adi Guru Granth* but he caricatures Guru Nanak's personality high-lighting his prejudiced and malevolent attitude towards Guru Nanak's life and thoughts. The more are the works of Guru Nanak studied with good translations and commentaries by unbiased scholars, the more will the absurdities of Hew McLeod's conjectural caricatures of Guru Nanak stand exposed. Falsehood can only be exposed in the Light of Truth and not by mere condemnation.

OVER HUNDRED AUTHENTIC CODICES (BIRS) OF GURU GRANTH AVAILABLE

Guru Arjun prepared the first compiled copy of *Adi Granth* and a copy known as Banno's copy was prepared during his life time. The original was prepared from a number of manuscripts out of which three manuscripts survived. Two are with Bhalla families and can still be seen and studied. One manuscript consisting of the hymns of Bhatts was with the Sodhi descendents of Prithi Mal uptil recently. It appears Prithi Mal or his successors bought it from the Bhalla families. During the decades of peace enjoyed by Guru Hargobind at Amritsar and Kartarpur a number of copies were prepared and autographed by the sixth Guru and sent to distant *Sangats*. Preparing copies of *Adi Granth* was a continuous practice in the *durbars* of the five successors of Guru Arjun. Even during the two and half years of his guruship, the Child Guru, Sri Harikrishan got prepared a number of copies. Two autographed copies are available. One is in Patna along with a *Hukamnama* of the eighth Guru.

Guru Gobind Singh got a number of copies prepared at Damdama a place specifically built for Scriptural studies at Anandpur. In all these, the hymns of Guru Tegh Bahadur were included. The author of this book has two copies dated 1705 A.D. and 1707 A.D. (autographed by Guru Gobind Singh). Randhir Singh research scholar who had studied and recorded his notes in a book and Gian Singh Nihang who prepared notes on over a hundred codices (Birs) studied both these codices (Birs). Both of them found the 1705 A.D. codex the best and textually the most correct out of those studied by them.⁹ There no doubt exist many authentic and correct copies.

A copy prepared under the supervision of Guru Hari Rai was given by the Guru to Ram Rai when he went to meet Aurangzeb. The copy is still preserved in the *dera* of Ram Rai. It is an exact copy of the first copy prepared by Guru Arjun. A half complete copy (upto Dhanasari Rag) was with Bhai Bidhi Chand. It is kept preserved by Bidhi Chand's descendents.

The Sikh Guru desired authentic copies to be pre-served with due reverence and respect but they did not allow the Sikhs to have any fetishtistic attitude towards any particular codex (Bir).

The original recension was taken from Amritsar to Kartarpur by Guru Hargobind for fear that the *Minas* (Prithimal's descendents) who remained in control of the Golden Temple complex for nearly sixty years might de-stroy it. So an exact copy was left in the Harimandar, which was removed by them and replaced by their own voluminous *Bani*. In 1700 A.D. Guru Gobind Singh sent Bhai Mani Singh to Amritsar who restored the authentic version on the martyrdom day of Guru Arjun. The *Minas* left the Harimandir lock, stock and barrel for ever.¹⁰

In the early years of this century Bhai Manna Singh a devotee of Baba Sham Singh, who could recite the *Guru Granth* from memory studied the text of the present Kartarpur recension. He found some textual differences with currently available copies. He published these in the

form of a tract. Bhai Jodh Singh has published his notes. Although his explanation of many discrepancies is not satisfactory, there is still need for checking it thoroughly. This can be done by comparing it with a number of authentic texts and particularly those recensions which are copies of the original recension or were compared with this recension earlier. No one has so far applied his mind in this direction.

We have authentic text certified and authenticated by all the five successors of Guru Arjun. There are some errors of omission and commission by scribes limited to orthographic signs which are not pronounced but are silent and have only grammatical significance.

One fact is indeed intriguing. Hew McLeod suggests on the basis of Archive documents collected by Nahar Singh that the original copy of Kartarpur Bir was forcibly taken by Maharaja Ranjit Singh and never returned till the British government procured it and gave it to him. But I have quoted documents from the same Archives in which a letter from Sodhi Sadhu Singh states that he never gave the original or even a copy to Ranjit Singh, but he was offering a copy to the British Govt. of which micro-films are available. This is a matter which needs further investigation and research. Scholars should also go beyond Bhai Jodh Singh's notes to assess the nature of the present Kartarpur recension. It is not difficult to assess whether it is the original one, or partially original and partially re-written after probable damage done to it or it is not at all the original. Comparison of the text with the recensions prepared in Guru period or with those which are alleged to be copies of the original will throw ample light on the issue.

Merely rejecting outright as Hew McLeod has done or accepting it uncritically is wrong attitude which will lead to doubts and confusion, which Hew McLeod intends to create.

CANONIZED WORKS OF BHAJI GURDAS AND BHAJI NAND LALL

The works of Bhai Gurdas were blessed by Guru Arjun as “*Key to Guru Granth*” and the key though different from the lock that conceals the treasures, becomes very important. Bhai Nand Lall’s works were blessed by Guru Gobind Singh as “*Testament of Life*”. The writings of both these authors are considered *Pramanik Bani*. Writings accepted at par with *Gurbani* and is recited in *Kirtan Katha* and all the functions of Sikh Temples. Every word of their work is considered authentic and authoritative. Sikh scholars, with few exceptions, have sadly neglected the proper study of these works. The author of this book took up the translation with commentary of the complete works of Bhai Gurdas some years ago which will be completed in about seven volumes. He has gone half-way so far. The translation of three out of nine works of Bhai Nand Lall is also complete. When after publication these works are introduced to the Western World, every serious occidental scholar of Sikhism will come to the conclusion that it is not possible to understand Sikhism without studying Bhai Gurdas and Bhai Nand Lall.

GURU NANAK OF FAITH AND GURU NANAK OF HISTORY

In the west two terms have been coined “Christ of Faith and Christ of History”. The same concepts and arguments are applied to “Guru Nanak of Faith and Guru Nanak of History”. The word ‘faith’ for which the Sikhs use the word *sidq* is not blind faith nor is the word ‘history’ conceived to be mere secular and temporal history. Faith in Sikhism is never ‘blind faith’ in any sense of the word nor is it a mere opinion. Nor can it be identified with theoretical knowledge. At the earlier stage it is based on moral and intuitional perceptions of a higher life. At the second stage it is based on aesthetic and spiritual perceptions of the good and evil, love for truth, wisdom, justice. Through prayers meditations and practical religious life this Faith becomes a conviction based on inner

experience of God and Truth.

‘History’ in Sikhism is not a basket of randomly collected facts and events, reported by persons who do not understand them. History is a phenomenon which understands and interprets the destiny of Man and Society, the fundamental meaning of the rise and fall of nations and civilizations and the process of moral and spiritual evolution.” The biographies of Great men and the history of the society in which they live are inter-related. ‘Society’ is a spiritual structure whose materials are personal lives and teachings of Enlightened Sages. If a social order is not related to a moral and spiritual order it will collapse just as Communist social order has totally collapsed today. Man cannot be a purely earthly being; his destiny lies in the supramundane sphere. Religion as revealed in Sikhism; is an experience of moral and spiritual values. It is a choice of value, an appreciation or adoration of value. It is also a Faith in Supreme Love, Truth and Beauty. Neither is faith in Sikhism, blind or merely intellectual, nor is his-tory understood as a chain of secular and temporal events. In Sikhism, Guru Nanak of Faith is the Guru Nanak of history, and Guru Nanak of history is the Guru Nanak of Faith. The two are inseparable from each other.

IMPACT OF ISLAMIC THOUGHT AND CULTURE ON GURU GRANTH AND ITS IMPACT ON PUNJABI MUSLIM CULTURE

In order to build up his theory that Sikhism is nothing more than a petty sect of Hinduism, Hew McLeod repeatedly, asserts that the influence of Islamic thought, and lanugage on *Guru Granth* is marginal and negligible. But those who have studied Islamic influence on the basis of Punjabi language, literature and culture hold exactly the opposite opinion, and they are right.

The eminent scholar Fredrick Pincott, a contemporary of Dr Ernest Trumpp, wrote four learned essays and one small book on the intimate relation between Islam, more so Sufism and Sikhism, between the year 1880-1908. His essays on the subject justified the inclusion of an essay

on 'Sikhism' in *Hughe's Dictionary of Islam and Encyclopaedia of Islam, First Edition*. A comprehensive essay on Hughe's Dictionary of Islam was contributed by Fredrick Pincott and an essay in Islamic Encyclopaedia was contributed by Sir Mohammed Iqbal.

It is noteworthy to record the difference between the attitude and scholarly labours of Fredrick Pincott on one side and Trumpp and McLeod on the other. While Trumpp and McLeod have studied only selective *janamsakhts*, Pincott has studied and quoted from all the

janamsakhts available in India Office Library. While Ernest Trumpp laboured only on the first quarter of *Adi Granth*, Hew McLeod's study is extremely superficial in which he picks up at random terms and doctrines to suit his criticism. McLeod has no time and patience to find explanation of his queries within the Sacred Scriptures, though it was available with abundant textual evidence, but he takes a negative attitude and passes puerile and pungent remarks which he never substantiates. He repeatedly asserts his pet themes in the scriptures even though there is nothing of the kind there. He arrogantly and in an authoritarian manner rejects many factual truths but attributes false notions and ideas which are alien to the very spirit of Sikhism. We are summing up briefly Fredrick Pincott's thoughts based on his works of great importance.¹¹

1. Pincott first highlights Ernest Trumpp's ignorance about Sufism and the influence of Zoroastrianism and New Platonism with particular reference to mystics like Hafiz, Firdausi, Nizami, Jami and others. He also pin-points Trumpp's ambivalent attitude. In one place in his Introduction to this translation Trumpp says "Sikhism has only an accidental relationship with Muhammadanism" (p.ci). In another place he says, "It is not probable that Islam had a great share in working silently these changes, which are directly opposed to the teachings of the Gurus (Int. cxii).

2. The Unity of God, and His relation to Man is

expressed by Guru Nanak in Sufi terminology. Like the Sufis Guru Nanak calls the Deity “Light of Life.” “The Light of the Lamp, illumining the heart. His Light is in all. From His Light there is light in all. The Luminous One is the mingler of Light with Himself. There, death enters not; Light is absorbed in the Luminous one.”

3. Guru Nanak uses all the favourite metaphors and symbolism of Sufism throughout his works. Pincott gives many examples from Trumpp’s crude translation.

4. The Ghazal pattern, and other styles of Sufi poetry, particularly giving a signature line with his name “Name” at the end of the verse, is an Islam style of versification, which did not exist in Sanskrit or other literatures before the advent of Islam.

5. Guru Nanak’s visit Mecca, Medina, Baghdad where he was accepted as an Enlightened *dervish*, and one of them is the strongest evidence given by Pincott.

6. Pincott highlights these elements in *Janamsakhis* which Hew McLeod either ignores or rejects without assigning any reason for doing so. Guru Nanak’s deepest and most intimate associations and Pir-disciple relations or ideologically and spiritually similar fraternal relations with Rai Bular, Sheikh Ibrahim, descendent of Sheikh Farid, Sheikh Sajjan, Mian Mitha, Nawab Daulat Khan Lodhi and his Qazi, Sheikh Tatiyar, Pir Sheikh Sharaf, Makhdum Bahauddin, Pir of Multan, Sheikh Behlol Shah of Baghdad and the dialogues held with them are innumerable instances of Guru Nanak’s profound ideological identity with these Sufis. Pincott however places Sikhism in an intermediate position between Islam and Hinduism. He quotes innumerable instances on every page of his vast contributions.

Hew McLeod repeatedly emphasises the fact that Islamic influence is marginal because there are very few works of Persian or Arabic origin. The following are the facts refuting this statement:

1. Many words of Persian origin have been so well absorbed in Punjabi, that Punjabis found it difficult to

believe that they have come from Persian or Arabic.

2. Guru Nanak, Guru Arjun and Bhai Gurdas have used the complete Sufi terminology to express their thought and experiences. Sometimes they use the original or its Punjabi translation, such *haq*, *such*. Poet-prophets like Guru Nanak and Guru Arjun expressed themselves either in the language of the common man or the literary language of their own period. The percentage of words of Persian origin in Guru Nanak's *Bani* is the same as we find in Sheikh Farid's *Bani*, or the poetry of such Sufi poets as Shah Hussain or Bulleh Shah. Sheikh Farid, Shah Hussain and Bulleh Shah were learned Persian and Arabic scholars and yet a very orthodox Muslim and Chisti Sufi like Sheikh Farid expressed himself only in the language of the people and we find ninety percent works are from the current Punjabi and Apabhramsa found in Hem Chandra's Apabhramsa text. He does not use the word *Pulsirat* in its Arabic form, but uses the Punjabi form of it *Pursilat*. This does not mean Sheikh Farid did not know Arabic. Like Guru Nanak he did not wish to show off his knowledge of Persian and Arabic, as some English poets and scholars tried to show their knowledge of Latin by using Latinized English or Bengali Scholars did by writing Sanskritized Bengali. Puran Singh a well-versed scholar of Sanskrit and Persian correctly states: "The Sikh Gurus 'swept clean the disciples' consciousness of all the entangled flimsy and complex cobwebs of mental weavings and spiri-tualistic vanities of the great and the vainglorious Sanskrit scholars. "

"It may not be inappropriate here to refer to a school of Nam-culture in the Punjab that must be so called to distinguish it from the Sufis (the Sufis being the Hindu-Muslim School of Thought), the Sikh-Muslim School. It is well-known that Baba Guru Nanak was well-beloved of both Hindus and Muslims. In distant Baghdad, he counted disciples like Shah Behlol. At Mecca, he met Qazi Rukn-ud-din, the Pir of Uch and the latter bowed down to the Guru, begging of Him his sandals to be kept as relics

in his dynasty and those sandals are still there. Farid Sani and others like Pir Mukkadum Bahauddin were great devotees of Guru Nanak. Mardana was his disciple, Kamal of Murham loved and died singing the Guru's *mantram*: "Glory be to the Guru, Glory be to the Guru." And so this intercourse between him and the Muslim mystics became more and more intimate as the Guru's culture spread."

"The religion of the Gurus thus is the great Human-ity of feeling which makes man good without an effort, and is but a "looking up", "a gazing up" towards God. The synthetic blending of things takes place in the realm of the intellect, the Guru lives in the soul of the universe, in the spirit of life, in the labour of love, in the inebriation of that Great Beautiful. A new present starts with the Guru. The future is all his."¹²

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. The first two paragraphs are from the author's Lecture entitled "The Philosophy of *Adi Guru Granth*" delivered in Tagore Theatre, Chandigarh. Dr Zakir Khan, then Vice-President of India, came all the way to Chandigarh just to preside over this lecture. It was published in *The Sikh courier*, London in November 1963.
2. Puran Singh. *The Spirit of Oriental Poetry*, p. 96-97.
3. Dr Ali Hassan Abdal-Kader, *The Life, Personality and Writings of Al-Junayd*, p. 37-38.
4. Margaret Smit, *Al-Muhasibi, An Early Mystic of Baghdad*, p. 15-16.
5. Charlotte Marie Tucker (1821-1895), *Life and Letters of A.L.O.E.*, p.289.
6. Duncan Greenlees, "*The Gospel of the Guru Granth Sahib*", p. 216-17.
[Duncan Greenlees, an Oxford scholar, and author of nearly forty books was kind enough to thoroughly revise the manuscript of my book "Guru Tegh Bahadur: *Prophet and Martyr*, and also to write a Foreword to it.]
7. Punjabi Translations of Plato's "Statesman" 'Ion.' were published in *Punjabi Sahit* and *Pritam*, Lahore in 1945-46.
8. For critical evaluation of his history and biography the best work is "*Plato and his Contemporaries: A Study in Fourth Century Life and Thought*" by G.C. Field, Methuen & Co. Third Ed. 1967.
9. Bhai Randhir Singh first gave his manuscript to Punjabi Sahit Akademy (Punjabi Bhavan) for printing. They kept the manuscript

but did not print it. Recently Dr Piar Singh of Guru Nanak Dev University came to my residence to check up the notes of Bhai Randhir Singh on these recensions. He found them correct and also considered this recension outstanding so far as correct text is concerned. I do not know whether this research work of Randhir Singh will be published by Guru Nanak Dev University or his labours will go waste. In Punjabi University the work of Bhagat Singh (Session Judge) was published in the name of Dr Taran Singh. This type of misappropriation of intellectual property of dead scholars with impunity has become honourable in our newly established universities.

10. Sewa Singh, *Shahid Bilas Bhai Mani Singh*, ed. Garja Singh.
11. The opinion of Fredrick Pincott has been summed up on the basis of his following contributions:
 - (i) *Sikhism in Relation of Mohammadanism*, London 1885.
 - (ii) *Arrangement of the Hymns of Adi Granth, Holy Bible of the Sikhs*, Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, London, XVIII
 - (iii) *Sikhism in the Religious Systems of the World*, London, 1908.
 - (iv) “*Sikhism*” in Hughe’s Dictionary of Islam, London, 1885.
12. Puran Singh, *Spirit of the Sikhs*, Vol. 11, Part 11, pp. 260, 266, 268.

CHAPTER 12

SIKH DOCTRINES, RELIGIOUS RITES PRAYERS AND PILGRIMAGE

Throughout their writings, the Sikh Gurus who have contributed to *Guru Granth*, and Guru Gobind Singh in his philosophic compositions in *Dasm Granth*, speak of the perennial philosophy of Man in the world and the relation of his mind and soul to the human world of this earth and the universe around him. Guru Nanak believes with Plato, that “The perfect life would be a life of perfect communion with other souls; and there is a law of Destiny, that the soul which attains not any vision of truth in company with God, and the soul which does not transcend the body and mind suffers transmigration.”

Generally, sages and seers in Asia and the East and West have expressed their thoughts through simple devotional teachings. In some places Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh also have done so. But we see Guru Nanak expresses his views through debates and dialogues with Yogis, Pundits, Muslim theologians, men of knowledge (gyanis), ascetics of various breeds. He patiently listens to their point of view and of those who wished to impress him with their knowledge, penances, ascetic practices. He gives his point of view in such a way that it is at once a subtle criticism and presentation of his doctrines and experiences which reflects a repudiation of the traditional views and revelation of a new outlook and new experience. In the *Siddha Gosht* alone the Nathpanthi yogis pose twenty three questions, and each question gives their well-established views. Guru Nanak politely but firmly refutes

their views and gives his own doctrines in the light of mystical knowledge and experience with a subtle and sharp criticism at times, but inoffensive when the question is polite and gentle, but vigorously counter-offensive when the questioner is haughty and arrogant.

In countless hymns like those of *Japji* and *Maru Sohle* there are profound reflections on God, Creation, the Universe, the human world, the joy of life, the beauty of nature and the bliss of morally and spiritually enlightened life. Hew McLeod literally follows Ernest Trumpp in giving a few over-simplified formulas, misinterprets them and like Trumpp makes his ignorant readers believe that there are no other serious religious or philosophic doctrines beyond these over-simplified and formulated by him.

Like Jesus and Buddha, Guru Nanak met not only the intellectual and spiritual elite, but he felt concerned mainly about the poor, the outcasts, the sinners because their hearts and souls were receptive and they not only accepted the new faith but also the new prophet. What mattered was the inner illumination that enabled the believer to feel and experience inner transformation. For those simple folks Buddha reduced the path to four-fold path or eight-fold *dharma*. Guru Nanak gave them simple three-fold or four-fold meditational practices or ethical principles such as:

1. *nam, dan, ishnan*: Name, Charity and Bathing
2. *daya, dharm* and *dan*: Compassion, Righteousness and Charity
3. *khima, garila, seu*: Forgiveness, Humility and Service
4. *sidak, sabr* and *santokh*: Unshakable Faith, Patience and Contentment
5. *kirt karni, vand chhakana* and *bhana manana*: Earn one's living, share one's food, and Abide by God's Will.

Hew McLeod confines all Sikh doctrines to No. 1 and 5. We will give McLeod's views and then the views of Prof. Puran Singh which he wrote in books published in

U.K. (1930), and reprinted by Punjabi University and were easily available to Hew McLeod. But he completely ignores all Puran Singh's works in English and other works in Punjabi on the subject.

"The *nam dan ishnan* formula evidently served as a kind of motto for the early community, neatly expressing the essence of Nanak's message and easily remembered by those who acknowledged him as their Guru. *Nam*, or the divine Name, is the convenient short-hand for the total being and nature of *Akal-purakh*. The purpose one achieves primarily through the practice of *nam-simran* or meditation of the divine Name, though it is also assisted by alms-giving (*dan*) and necessarily involves pure living (*isnan*)."¹

The same verdict must be applied to another formula popularly but mistakenly attributed to Guru Nanak: *NamJapo, kirt karo, vand chhako* (Repeat the Name, work (hard) and give to others a portion of what you earn). Hew McLeod wrongly asserts that one does not find these among Sikhs these days. In a footnote he says that the origin of *kirt karo* and *vand chhako* is obscure, though we find its origin is there in the hymns of Guru Nanak. According to him Dr Ganda Singh agrees with him about the obscurity of its origin and suggests it possibly as the *Ardasa* in which we say '*jina nam japai tina vand chhkia*'.

These three-fold concepts are not mottos. They sum up for the common devotee the spiritual and ethical essence of Sikhism, the minimum of practical ideals expected from a Sikh. We find reference to both these three-fold concepts in the works of Guru Nanak. As *Nam*, the Name or the Mystic Word of God is common to both we will take it up first.

NAM OR THE NAME OF GOD

Aldous Huxley says, 'The simplest and most widely practised form of spiritual exercise is repetition of the divine Name or of some phrase affirming God's existence

and the soul's dependence on Him.” Brother Lawrence, the French mystic calls it “Practising the Presence of God”. He says “That practice which is alike the most holy, the most general, and the most needful in the spiritual life is the practice of the Presence of God. It is the schooling of the soul to find its joy 111 His Divine Companionship, holding with Him at all times and at every moment humble and loving converse, without set rules or stated method, in all time of our temptation and tribulation, in all time of our dryness of soul and dis-relish of God, yes, and even when we fall into unfaithfulness and actual sin. When we are busied or meditating on spiritual things, even in our time of set devotion, whilst our voice is rising in prayer, we ought to cease for one brief moment, as often as we can, to worship God in the depth of our being, to taste Him though it be in passing, to touch him as it were by stealth.”³

Nam-Simrin is not mere muttering A Name or any formula as Ernest Trumpp and Hew McLeod repeatedly put it. It is contemplative meditation, remembrance and recollection of His Attributes, and hearing them within our own consciousness. Its external basis may be the tongue, the lips or the breath, but *simrin* really involves the mind, the heart and consciousness. It is a journey towards inner solitude, love of the Light of God within us, till the Name of God is engraved within our heart and soul, and it becomes the ecstasy and vision of Gd.

Guru Gobind Singh says, “You achieve nothing by spiritless repetition of the Name, no matter how long you do it.” There is a tendency amongst bigots, fanatics and spiritless preachers to vulgarize the true Name by loud empty repetition. They not only vulgarize it, but despiritualize it by uttering it like mindless dead souls. Says Puran Singh, “Mere repetition may be death, though repetition is also life. *Simrin* or Remembrance is Love in action. And His Name is He Himself. The Word is God. With the Word on our tongue, God is in our voice.” “Remembrance of Him”, says Guru Nanak, “is what gives true

life”. *Reheras Simran* is the true Builder, the slow silent Architect of the Soul.”²⁴ This fundamental spiritual meditation and mystical doctrine is beautifully expressed in the following lines:

*diva mera eh nam
dukh vich paya tel;
un chanan oh sokhia
chuka jam si on mel.*

Remembrance of the One Name of God,
Is the lamp within my heart;
Into it, I have poured,
All my sorrow and suffering as oil,
The Flame of the lamp
Has burnt all the oil,
All fear of death has departed.

A.G. Guru Nanak, *Rag Asa*: p. 358

The divine Name is the Flame, which when lighted within, burns all sorrow and suffering, fear and agony, till the Flame becomes an illuminating Light of Love, and Love becomes ecstasy and the highest enlightenment.”

DAN (CHARITY)

In Hinduism *dan* (charity) is fruitful only if it is given to Brahmin or through a Brahmin. But the Guru Says *garib ki rasna guru ki golak*. “The mouth of the hungry and poor is the treasure-chest of the Eternal Guru.”

Guru Angad describes ‘Charity and Benevolence in his sermon to his disciples, recorded in *Sikhan-di-Bhaktamal*. “Bhai Lalu Budhvar, Bhai Durga and Bhai Jawanda presented themselves in the durbar of Guru Angad and humbly sought spiritual guidance, acting on which they could attain enlightenment. Guru Angad said, “There is no religious practice and meditation which is as fruitful in bestowing enlightenment as Charity (*dan*) and benevolence (*ParuPkar*) (lit being benign and generous to others). Benevolence and charity is of three “kinds:

First, a person uses his earnings not only wisely for himself, but for serving the needy, the destitute and saintly persons, and shares his surplus income with others.

Second, we can serve others not only by giving them money when they need it, but personally looking after the sick, and giving solace and consolation to those who live in physical suffering.

Third, it is charity and benevolence to impart wisdom and knowledge to others and give them spiritual instructions. One should always pray for the welfare and success in noble achievements of others. This is also charity and benevolence.”⁵

ISHNAN

Ishnan lit : bathing and it stands for inner ablution through prayer and meditations. Both the physical clean-liness and inner purification of mind and heart and soul are essential. Hew McLeod is correct in interpreting it as inner purity.

WAND CHHAKNA

Wand Chhakna is defined by Puran Singh thus: “To share our bread and joy and love and attainment of God-realization with all. To give a feast of our flesh and blood, to be Christs, Buddhas, Gurus, and not men only. Above humanity, living outside our bodies in touch with super-humanity of the Higher Worlds.”⁶ We find this doctrine clearly stated in the hymns of Guru Nanak and his successors, and also in *janamsakhis*, but Hew McLeod could not find it because he is always looking for material which he can use for adverse criticism. He naturally misses the clearly enunciated doctrines in *Guru Granth* and historical facts revealing these doctrines in *janamsakhis*. Guru Nanak says:

*ghal khae kich hathon dehi
nanak rah pachhanahi set*

He who earns his living,
With righteous labour,
And gives out of it,
Something to the needy,
With his own hands:
Such a one, says Nanak
Comprehends the Path of God.

When Guru Nanak went to Kodikulam, the place which the *janamsakhls* call *Tilangji*, the Nathpanthis were collecting and storing in their *Bhandaras* what the people were offering them, but Guru Nanak was distributing what was offered to them. Guru Nanak stood for the doctrine of *Wand-Chakhna*. When he explained it to the Yogis, they offered a linseed and asked Baba Nanak to distribute it to all. Guru Nanak grinded it, dissolved it in water and distributed it. Yogi Mangal Nath the leader was profoundly impressed.” Hew McLeod rejects this without assigning reason for rejecting such Sakhis in the Janam Sakhis. His arrogance and false postures of authority to reject what he dislikes is a fundamental part of his methodology in damning Sikhism.

“Conserving wealth for oneself is to make many die of hunger. it is a life of distribution and not of “possession”⁷ that the Guru presents to humanity. Hoarding is vice, earning by the sweat of one’s brow is virtue. Living and letting others live is reasonable enjoyment of each one’s own individual life of home and country is what the Guru thinks should be the principal tendency of man’s rule over his fellowmen.” *Kirat Karni* is: “To toil for one’s bread, for goodness’s Begging for one’s food is not sanctified in Sikhism as it is for monks in some other religions.

WORSHIP, PRAYER, MEDITATIONS IN SIKH RELIGION

In Sikhism worship, prayer, meditations, whether individual or corporate are one and the same thing. The same hymns for which there is an open choice are used for each function. Worship is prayer and prayer is worship. Prayer is contemplation and contemplative prayer is a meditation, leading to ecstasy and enlightenment. The purpose of all prayers and meditations is to see the nearness, and the vision of God’s Presence and Light.

Corporate worship, in association and companion-ship of saintly souls, is considered very important for spiritual life. As Evelyn Underhill puts it, “Corporate worship,

stands for the total orientation of life towards God.” In Sikhism no special liturgical action is required for it. The congregation sings together, prays and worships together, eats together and participates in all religious, social and cultural activities of serving others collectively. Money, labour of love, dedicated service flows in, and historic shrines are built, roads and bridges are constructed and hospital or educational services are organized.

RITES AND CEREMONIES

Every religion has some special ceremonies of birth, marriage, death, baptism or seeking God’s protection and grace during difficulties and sufferings. Though apparently the ceremonies are different, basically only one and the same ceremony is performed. Either a continuous reading of *Guru Granth* by a team of readers, which may include men, women, family members or a slow periodic reading completed by one or two readers within seven or ten days, is the primary ceremony in all cases. At the time of marriage, four hymns of Guru Ram Das, written to celebrate the mystic union of human soul as the Bride, and God as the Bridegroom are sung and read. Other songs can be sung by *kirtan* singers for which they have free choice, but must represent the communion of Soul and God. At the time of death, a few hymns about the transcendence of life and death are sung, for which the singers have a free and wide choice. No fixed liturgical verses are sung. The Bed-time prayer which is recited when the sun sets, is also recited when the sun of life has set.

Guru Amar Das’s “*Anand*” the “Song of Spiritual Bliss” is sung after all ceremonies of birth, marriage and death. The same *Ardasa* (Invocational Prayer) is recited after each ceremony and Sacramental food distributed. The ceremonies can be performed by trained priests or by any adult, man or woman who knows how to perform the ceremony, and is a religious man. He may be a “Singh” or a *Sahajdhari* Sikh. In Sindhi Gurdwaras these ceremonies of the Khalsa Panth are

performed by *Sahajdhari* Sindhis with far more devotion and accuracy in words and deeds than in ordinary Sikh Gurdwaras where prayers are conducted by careless and worldly minded “*Singhs*”.

Hew McLeod’s attempt to create confusion about all these, is a motivated effort to show that the Sikh people are divided on these acts of prayer, worship and meditations. They certainly are not; on the other hand these ceremonies, prayers and corporate modes of worship are the strongest bonds between all types of Sikhs.

HOLY PLACES AND PILGRIMAGE

Lahore was the capital of Punjab for centuries. Yet within thirty to forty miles of this historic city the Gurus founded new cities like Goindwal, Amritsar, Tarn Taran. Lahore was the city of Nawabs, the rich and the aristocrats. Almost everything was controlled by the government machinery and everything flourished there for the interest of the rulers. The new cities were free from such influences. For long there was no government interference.

Behind the construction of these cities, there was one principle: The whole earth is called *Dharamsal* Temple of God, where man is given all provisions of sustenance, and man is born to fulfil one purpose of life: to rise from animal existence to Eternal-life and be a citizen, as Bhakta Ravidas calls it, a citizen of *Beghampura*, *City of no woes*: the Realm of Truth and Immortality.

Only cities constructed by prophets are holy cities and they are holy cities only as long as their holiness and sanctity is maintained by keeping vice, sin, crime out of it. When ruthless anti-God rulers destroy such cities and their Temples, they go to the grave with all the curse and ignominy on their head, which the lovers of holiness and truth can heap on them.

Real ablution is bathing one’s mind, heart and soul in the remembrance of God but this does not mean that we should give up taking bath altogether as some cynics in India do. The two have to be blended together.

Only cities built by prophets with the shrines for

continuous prayer, worship are holy cities. Kings and Emperors may build very large cities with innumerable temples. They do not become holy cities, because they are devoid of holiness and holymen. A holyman in Sikhism is considered a moving place of pilgrimage. Says Bhai Gurdas, "The place where Baba Nanak sets his foot becomes a place of pilgrimage.» During the fifteen years, I spent to prepare my '*Biography of Guru Nanak*', I found places in remote areas in Himalaya range, Dacca, Bengal, South India visited by Guru Nanak and Guru Tegh Bahdur where there was not a single Sikh when I went there. Yet these places, having sometimes simple enclosures, without any temple, had become places of worship and profound veneration. Lamas in these areas do not give any medicine to a sick man till they have said, "I offer this medicine in the name of Rimpunche Guru Nanak. Muslims and Hindus in Dacca and Vishnupur and other places in East and West Bengal seek blessings from these places where once hundreds of years ago Guru Nanak came and gave such lasting solace and peace that they still feel the place was sanctified and to this day they receive His blessings and grace from it."

No doubt, the real pilgrimage is the inner pilgrimage, but places which preserve the memory of prophets, saints and spiritually creative great men also become places of pilgrimage, and they remain so as long as their sanctity and spiritual purity is maintained. For corporate worship, for ideal religious communion, for an experiment of building a morally sound and spiritually enlightened society, building of such holy cities is a part of the morally enlightened civilization. Some day such a civilization will come into existence. This was the vision of Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh:

Titans and saints,
Night walkers and serpent kings,
Of the past and the present,
Even those that in future be,
Will one and all worship Thee;

Creatures on land, earth and sea,
 Will erelong enshrine Your Presence,
 Within their hearts and soul.
 Virtue shall march in fun glory
 With trumpet sounds of victory.
 All hordes of the wicked and dissolute,
 Will be crushed and destroyed from the roots.
 The virtuous and noble saints shall ever dwell
 In freedom and peaceful contentedness;
 The preverse on seeing the victory of Truth and God
 Will quail in agony and bewail their lot.

Guru Gobind Singh, *Ten Swayas, Akal Ustat*

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5. Bhai Mani Singh, *Sikhan-di-Bhagatmal, Sakhi* 25
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8. *ibid.*, p. 27.

CHAPTER 13

EVOLUTION OF SIKH PANTH HEW McLEOD'S
MISSTATEMENTS AND DISTORTIONS

I had not read Hew McLeod book "*Evolution of the Sikh Community*", for quite some time. But a very eminent non-Sikh scholar who has made significant contribution to *Sikh Studies* wrote to me: "Dr W.H. McLeod has written a new book "*Evolution of the Sikh Community*", in the McLeodian tradition of running down Sikhism and misin-terpreting Sikh history to the West like typical prejudiced Christian missionaries. You should comment on it in a scholarly review. One injusitce Dr McLeod has done to his own thinking and motives in writing this book is that he has given a wrong title to this book. The correct title interpreting his theme and purpose should have been "Devolution and Disintegration of Sikh Panth." Even Sikhs might have appreciated his courage and wisdom."

Then came a series of reviews. The first was by Dr Fauja Singh who was earlier his admirer. We have already quoted passages from it. I remained silent. When Hew McLeod was in India as Professor of History in Baring Christian College, we met often in seminars and conferences, where his papers were considerably restrained, I considered him a friend and a serious student of Sikhism. I tried not to take my pen against friends who are ideologically poles apart. That explains my friendship with some well-known Communist writers, although I have been such a strong critic of Communism, that way back between 1946-1950, I predicted the collapse of Communism after the death of Stalin. But these Communist friends

stopped blatant criticism of Sikh Gurus and Sikh ideals and the debate in the Press and papers ended.

I thought Hew McLeod will take up detailed study of Sikhism and his Christian conscience will persuade him to present at least some basic truths of Sikhism. But that was not to be. A reading of “*Evolution of Sikh Community*” (1975) reminded me of a white and physically attractive Bull who entered a China shop of rare curios and broke as many precious glassware, as his first momentous attack could.” Considering it a great and impressive feat the Bull came out, started wagging his tail and became the leader of a whole group of White Bulls. Sometime all alone, sometimes with a team of White Bulls, Hew McLeod entered this China shop of Sikh Studies again with the express motive of reducing all the precious possessions of this China shop of “Sikh Religious and Historical Studies” to rubble and rubbish in his four thin books having the same themes, the same chapters and repetition of malicious attacks on Sikh religion and history on the basis of misstatements, distortion of facts and calculated misinterpretations of Sikh history and religion.

As usual Hew McLeod does not document any of his facts. He does not give any date. He does not take a specific period to discuss its historical impact. He does not give specifically the contribution of the Sikh Gurus made in every century. He describes the eighteenth century as if nothing of social, cultural or political importance happened in this period. He takes isolated incidents of the eighteenth century and tries to fit them in *janam Sakhis* hagiographic accounts of Guru Nanak’s life and travels. He does not say a word about the rise and fall of Ranjit Singh which covers a period of half a century.

Scholars like Gokal Chand Narang, Dr N.K Sinha, Dr Indu Bhushan Bannerjee, and the doyan of Sikh history, Dr Hari Ram Gupta, Dr A.C. Banerjee have given fairly correct assessment of Evolution of Sikh history in various periods. As Hew McLeod has concentrated all his energies on the Guru period and the Eighteenth century,

we will show how he ignored authentic works and original sources and spins endless cobweb of false constructions.

GURU-PERIOD

Guru Nanak's Life and Work were historically a little different from most of the Gurus. From the day he received the Call to the day he settled at Kartarpur, a period of nearly twenty years, he was away from Punjab. Knowing full well that no prophet or saint had access to various holy places till he wore the dress of a wandering mendicant (Hindu or Buddhist monk or Muslim dervish) he wandered all over the world lighting the lamp of his faith in the hearts of genuine seekers of Truth belonging to various faiths. From Baghdad to Dacca and Sylhet, and from Sikkim, Bhutan and Arunachalam to a number of places in Sri Lanka (Ceylon), the very place where he set foot, has become sacred for the people of these regions. Emperors, kings, yogis, dervishes, Lamas and encounters with the people of the various kingdoms within and out-side India was an experience unique to the Founder of Sikh religion. He had come to sow the seeds of his faith in all the major religious centres of the world, and in his own way, he did so. Some of his successors confined their activities to Punjab. Some were destined to go to some states but no other Guru could go outside India. They took the task of making the roots firm in the country, institutionalizing Sikhism, and making the seeds sown in Punjab into an everlasting tree of Wisdom. Guru Nanak's successors disciplined their followers to face the challenges of changing rulers and changing times. They taught them to beat back the cyclonic storms of ruthless invaders, to break the chains which tyrants and oppressors put around their feet. Guru Hargobind and Guru Gobind Singh, taught them to stand up and fight against numerically strong and military powerful governments. They have fought, faltered and suffered when they had bad leadership. But bitter experiences have always made them morally stronger, and the inspiration of the Word of the Gurus

has made them spiritually unconquerable. Ultimately they have always achieved their goal.

Even though all the successors of Guru Hargobind had a well-equipped army, Guru Hari Rai, Guru Hari Krishan and Guru Tegh Bahadur led a peaceful life because the Delhi rulers did not attack them. Guru Hari Rai, however helped Dara Shikoh to cross the ferry of Goindwal and reach Lahore safely. They accepted the challenge of aggression aimed at eliminating them by armed resistance. As we have shown earlier, this danger of being physically eliminated came first from the Hindu Rajas of Shivalik and not from the Mughals.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY CHALLENGES AND ACHIEVEMENTS

Eighteenth century Sikh history can be clearly divided into three periods: (1) Banda period whose experiment with a total revolution had its brilliant success and administrative failure and collapse. (2) The period from 1716-1760 when the leading contemporaries of Guru Gobind Singh were living and guiding the Sikh Panth. (3) The third period, when they conquered the whole of Punjab and even invaded Delhi twice.

BANDA BAHADUR PERIOD

“The moral canker in Mughal Empire”, says the author of *7 arikh-i-Shahadit-Farrukhsyiar*, “was too deep-rooted to be killed by such outward show of piety and obedience to lifeless conventions. A Nemesis worked itself out inexorably on the destiny of the Empire from the character of the Emperor and leading Ministers”. Banda left Nanded just one month before Guru Gobind Singh’s departure from this world with only twenty-five Sikhs as companions, picked by the Master as the most dedicated and disciplined Sikhs. Within a year of his arrival he conquered the whole of Punjab. Around Rajasthan, Delhi and in Punjab he inspired the lowliest of the low artisans, peasants, cobblers, shepherds to revolt against the local zamindars, feudal Chiefs and the Subedars of Mughal

government and reduced the most cruel men to dust. the terror which he struck through the nervous system of Mughal empire whose cruelty and oppression had become in tolerable, can be seen on every page of the history of this period. Marx was not right in the solution of economic ills he found, but he was correct in his observation on a historical phenomenon when he said, "A nation fighting for its liberty might not try to adhere rigidly to the accepted rules of warfare. Mass uprisings, revolutionary methods, guerilla bands can hope to maintain itself against an adversary, superior in number and equipment, By their use, a weaker force can overcome its stronger and better organized opponents."

THE AGE OF MARTYRS, SAINTS AND WARRIOR LEADERS

Almost all the leaders of the period 1716 to 1762 were great warrior-saints who were disciplined in the durbar of Guru Gobind Singh. Even in the religious field a number of contemporaries of Guru Gobind Singh were carrying on missionary work as *Udasis*, *Sewa-Panthis* and illumined Khalsa saints. Nearly all the great warrior saints like Bhai Tarn Singh, Tara Singh Van, Bhai Mani Singh to Baba Dip Singh died fighting. It appeared that the leadership was becoming extinct under the storm of persecution. But a new leadership with youthful vigour and determination was emerging.

THE PERIOD OF CONQUEST OF PUNJAB - 1760-1800

The Marathas had occupied Punjab in 1758 with the help of submissive Muslim feudal lords. In order to establish pure Hindu Raj, they kept the Sikhs at a distance. The Sikhs kept away knowing full well that the Marathas would not be able to face the Abdali invader when he comes to Punjab. That is exactly what happened. In the battle of Panipat during the next invasion, thirty thousand soldiers of Ahmad Shah Abdali gave a crushing and humiliating defeat to Marathas having five lakh horse-men. Instead of making a determined effort they ran away,

leaving Punjab and Delhi to be ruined and ravaged by the invader.

Janunath Sarkar rightly says, “The Maratha failure to oppose the foreign invader in 1757, and even more with the Bhau’s vast resources in 1760-61, convinced the Indian world that Maratha leadership was a very weak reed to lean upon in any real danger. No North India potentate would risk sure annihilation by siding with Marathas in their days of difficulty, or even while the issue of their contest with the foreigner was trembling in the balance. Maratha protection was not worth purchasing by the least sacrifice, because the Marathas clearly demonstrated in the last four years that they could not protect their dependents anymore than they had been able to protect their own selves in 1761 A.D.”¹

“The Sikhs, however”, adds the doyan of Sikh history, Dr Hari Ram Gupta, “did not fail in their national duty in which Marathas had so miserably acquitted themselves. Even in the face of heavy odds they did not allow the Abdali to pass through their country without striking a blow as the Maratha leters testify. They were the only organized power who could offer resistance to the alien invader. Therefore, if there was any Indian power which had a moral right to rule over the frontier province of the country it was the Sikhs.”²

THE THIRD PHASE IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY SIKH HISTORY 1760-1800

Numerically the Sikhs were less than a million. They were pitted against Mghan invaders and their Governors in Lahore and Multan, on the East, the Mughals and Marathas on the West. Within the next twenty years they captured the whole of Punjab. Out of the 12 Misals, six proposed the names, one each of the outstanding saints and scholars who were not only well-versed in religious traditions but could sacrifice their life for their faith. Out of these six were appointed the jathedars of *Akal Takht*, *Kesgarh* and, the *Head Granthi* of the Harimander. These

six selected some more representatives which formed the supreme Council, the Grand Diet of the Sikh Commonwealth.

As N.K. Sinha puts it, "The Central Government of the Sikhs during the *Misal* period consisted of a tumultuous Diet, the " *Sarbat Khalsa* " which met twice a year at Amritsar during the *Baisakhi* and the *Diwali*. They chose a leader by a Majority vote, but barely allowed him dignity of *primus inter pares*, during his temporary elevation. The confederacy was called *Khalsa ji* (or Khalsa Panth), and the grand army was called *Dal Khalsa*. In civil life there was complete social equality amongst the Sikhs. In the meetings of the *Sarbat Khalsa* everyone could freely express his opinion. The decisions were by majority votes. The resolutions passed in the presence of the Holy Granth were *Gurmatta*. The Grand Diet made decisions about the important expeditions to be undertaken and matters of general concern".³

While the Grand Diet had full control over their general religious and political policies, their advice to set up a democratic organization to control internal affairs were either ignored or not adhered to. With the death of great stalwarts like Nawab Kapur Singh, Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and the Bhangi *Misal leaders*, the tendency towards feudal control of their fiefs increased. Monarchy was a wrong solution which ended in autocracy and utter moral corruption of the Ruler and his sly trusted ministers, the treacherous Dogras. Character is Fate. The character of Ranjit Singh and the Dogras who handled his army, durbar affairs and his Ranis, not only brought the sudden collapse of Ranjit Singh's empire, but also physically eliminated nearly all the members of Ranjit Singh's family within two years.

Hew McLeod does not present a single fact or date or document of the Eighteenth century, a period in which we had thousands of contemporary Persian, Punjabi, Marathi documents. He draws the attention of his readers to *janamsakhis*, which deal exclusively with the Life of Guru

Nanak, and he asks them to read the copies of *Janam Sakhis* copied or prepared in eighteenth century. It is like asking Englishmen to read the life of Elizabeth I in eighteenth century Manuscript copies of Chaucer's Canterbury tales and to study the life of Queen Victoria in bio-graphical literature of the twentieth century. These are the new research methods introduced by Hew McLeod *for* the critical and analytical study of Sikh history.⁴ This is how he has been trying to mislead, deceive and bluff the western readers of his books.

The *Misal* confederation is sometimes considered a Feudal social structure on the pattern of Feudalism in Europe or the Hindu and Muslim States in India. There was considerable difference. N.K Sinha rightly brings out the difference. "We should not lose sight of the fact that feudalism of the Sikhs was very different not only from the feudalism of medieval Europe but also *from* the feu-dalism obtaining nearer at home in Rajputana. The *misals* were the confederacies of equals. A Sikh disdained to acknowledge any earthly superior. The Sardar was no doubt obeyed, but there was no obligation to obey beyond what they might consider to be *for* their own reciprocal benefit or *for* the well-being of the *Misal*." This was undoubtedly the state of things in the beginning. There was, however, at no stage of Sikh feudal history, a haughty *noblesse* as in Rajputana or in medieval Europe. There was no such patriarchal element in Sikh feudalism, nor do we hear of an elaborate list of feudal obligation of military service. The feudal system of Europe has been described by Gib-bon as the offspring of change and barbarism. The Punjab system was certainly not feudal in the European sense. The all-pervading sense of brotherhood and super-added theocratic outlook would not, at least in theory allow de-struction of rank."⁵

Sikh theologians, musicians, painters, artists, missionary orders like *Udasis*, *Ninnalas*, and even the *Sahajdahari* Saints like Bhai Sewa Ram, Sahaj Ram, Bhai Adan Shah, Bhai Santokha, Bhai Aya Ram, Bhai Rochi Ram, Bhai

Darbari, Bhai Daya Ram, Bhai Balla Ram, Bhai Hargopal Udasi who was a contemporary of Guru Gobind Singh carried on extensive missionary work in Sindh, Multan, Gujrat, Rawalpindi and remote areas of Kashmir very much as St. Francis preaches Christinity with love and service in hostile regions. There are piles of published and unpublished works on their activities and each of these missionary groups had its *deras* (hospices) and. Saints which still survive in one form or the other in Amritsar with innumerable branches all over India and Pakistan; each *dera* has a history of dedicated devotion to the Khalsa Panth.⁶

Unfortunately, our historians confined their attention only to military and 'political activities of the Sikhs in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They have completely ignored the work and achievements of these saints who were as deeply respected by God-fearing Muslims as by Sikhs.

In his Chapters on Eighteenth Century history of the Sikhs McLeod ignores even the published literature on this subject and constructs utterly absurd theories to give as ugly an image of the Sikhs of eighteenth century as his ingeniously framed conjectural speculations possibly can. Not a single correct historical fact, not a single date, and not a single event or assessment of historians of this period is given. We have given a glimpse into the eighteenth century history based on the works of non-Sikh historians and scholars. The eighteenth century presents the most glorious chapter in Sikh history of which every Sikh is justly proud. It should be obvious to discerning scholars how, Hew McLeod has turned a blind eye to the historical truth of this magnificent period of Sikh history and has fabricated utterly false images and presented humiliating and insulting pictures of the religious and political conditions of the Sikhs. No amount of academic bluff and deception can either darken or cloud the facts and truth of Sikh history and religion.

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CHAPTER 14

**DECEPTIVE AND FALLACIOUS ANALYSIS OF
JANAM SAKHIS AND RAHITNAMAS**

Two books of Hew McLeod are exclusively devoted to *janam-Sakhis*. He is right when he calls them hagiographic accounts, but he gives a misleading impression of the historical importance of hagiographic narratives, on which the early history of higher religions like Christianity, Buddhism and Islam is based.

Lord Buddha's hagiographic narratives on which the biographies of Lord Buddha are based were written long after the founder's death. E.J.Thomas says "all the biographies of ancient Buddhist authors are centuries later than the period of which they speak. They have all been composed after the time when the movement had broken up into separate schools, and they represent the traditions, often contradictory, preserved by these bodies, and modified in accordance with various dogmas concerning the nature of Buddha and the means of winning release."¹ The earliest dates fixed for the four Gospels, the source of life of Jesus Christ, date from 68 to 200 A.D., which means long after Jesus Christ's death.

The search for old manuscripts of *janam Sakhis* began only in recent years. Out of the ten Gurus, *Janam Sakhis* cover the life of Guru Nanak only and to some extent his disciple and successor Angad. The first *Janam Sakhi* was written' during the life time of Guru Angad 1539-1552 A.D. We have manuscripts dated Dec. 1658 A.D. We have an undated manuscript (Baba Prem Singh Hoti Mardan's MS) whose paper, Gurmukhi script resembles

the *Bani Pothis* on the basis of which *Guru Granth* was compiled. Its contents also reveal that it is older than all other MSS. A further search for older manuscript is likely to bring to light near contemporary manuscripts. In the thirties of this century it was believed that there were just four or five *janamsakhis*; but new efforts by scholars to search for new manuscripts have yielded over a hundred manuscripts of *janamsakhis* but even earliest biographies of the Guru written in verse and prose, throw some light on the hitherto undiscovered *janamsakhis* of early eighteenth centuries. However, it is absolutely incorrect and misleading to say as Hew McLeod does that *janamsakhis* are sacred writings. No Guru ever canonized any *janamsakhi* of Guru Nanak and they are treated as early hagiographic accounts of the Founder of Sikhism. No single *janamsakhi* provides the complete biographical material of Guru Nanak. They lead the researcher to the right sources in regional historical traditions and documents of places visited by Guru Nanak.

There are mythical stories, but even behind these mythical stories there are some historical events and documents. For example, the story of *Kaliyuga* meeting Guru Nanak in Puri is a pure myth. It is the type of story resembling Mara meeting Buddha and devil meeting Christ in the early years of their meditations for Enlightenment. But what surprised me was the same story introduced in *Puratan janamsakhi* and two more versions of *janamsakhis* say that Kaliyuga met Guru Nanak at Puri in Orissa many years after Guru Nanak achieved Enlightenment. In my fifteen years of research tour to places visited by Guru Nanak, when I visited Puri, I was told that Kaliyuga was, the name of the *Panda* who was the first to become the Guru's disciple. His family still lives there and have sufficient documents not only to prove historical events they narrate, but they also give other details of Guru Nanak's stay in Puri. I was able to find documents clearly indicating that Guru Nanak (known as Nanak-acharya) in Eastern and south India and Sri Lanka documents

and inscriptions met and stayed at Puri with Sri Chaitanya Mahaprabhu, on which meeting I wrote an article in 1963 and was published in Sep'63 issue of the Sikh Review. Thus, the myth in the *janamsakhi* is a myth which all historians reject but it has led to the historical truth that Guru Nanak had blessed Panda Kaliyuga that his wishes to have a son would be fulfilled but he asked him to name the son, 'Satya-yug'. The descendants of Satyuga are still living in Puri.

There is a tendency among scholars like Hew McLeod to condemn hagiographic of prophets and saints as unbelievable humbug except those of Jesus Christ. What then are hagiographic narratives and what is their historical importance? This is what the average reader of religious literature does not know. To denounce them as unscientific history is not only unwise but even irrational and irresponsible approach to sources of ancient history

Collier's Encyclopaedia defines hagiography as "the historical science which studies and treats documents or writings about holiness, holy persons and saints. It is usual to make distinction between the hagiographic writings which make up the source material of the modern science of hagiography and the later critical hagiography."²

Encyclopaedia Britannica says, "Hagiography derived from the Greek (holy: saint) is the branch of historical studies dealing with the lives of the saints and the devotion paid to them through the centuries. The need for specialized study was created by the special nature of the documents concerned; acts of martyrs, lives of saintly monks, bishops, princes or virgins and accounts of miracles taking place at the tomb or in connection with their relics and icons and status."³

The word holiness is used here and in Sikh literature in the sense Rudolf Otto defines it. Holy is something more than morally good. "There is no religion in which it does not live as the real innermost core, and without it no religion would be worthy of the name. It is pre-eminently a living force in the Semetic religions."⁴

"From the earliest times, Christianity particularly

Churches honoured the anniversaries of the members of the Church who had suffered martyrdom. List of the martyrs was kept to identify the heroes and to certify the proper date of each anniversary.”⁵ “These anecdotes of the lives of saints a type of literature in a class of its own, inspired as it is by keen administration, by a desire to instruct the reader and often also by the intentions of attracting pilgrims to the shrine of a miracle worker. These pious writings, although presenting great variety, yet share so many characteristics that they form a special branch of literature and should be studied as a group.”⁶ Rudolf Otto calls this historical literature “non-rational” or “suprarational” in the depths of divine nature. He says “The ‘irrational’ is today a favourite theme of all who are too lazy to think or too ready to evade the arduous duty of clarifying their ideas and grounding their convictions on the basis of coherent thought.”⁷

Jesuit Father Herbert Roseweyde and Jean Bolland collected these hagiographies after research and analytical study and published *Acta Sanctorum* “*Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs and other Principal Saints*” by Alban Butler (first published in 1750). It is still the best collection based on the hagiographic accounts. They are of abundant historical, hagiographical and cultural importance. In this very tradition hagiographic literature *janamsakhis* which have escaped organized distortions or corruption at the hands of such hostile cults as *Minas* (Prithimal’s son and grandson), *Handalyas*, have immense historical, philosophical and cultural value.

GENESIS, HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT AND DISTORTIONS OF JANAMSAKHIS

We have a complete history and new version of the original *Janamsakhi*, in the early twenties of eighteenth century, by Bhai Mani Singh but this too suffered distortion. We have not been able to find very old manuscripts, but the interpolation of external irrelevant material is visible because Bhai Mani Singh has an inimitable style of his

own and a language consistantly of a scholar well-versed in Sikh doctrines. The interpolated stories have different lan-guage and even theories and ideas which Bhai Mani Singh rejects elsewhere.

As all saints and Sikh missionaries wished to have some *janamsakhi* in their *ashrams* independent efforts were made to collect anecdotes and prepare *janamsiikhis* on the basis of pick and choose *Sakhis*. We have now innumerable varieties and versions of *janamsakhis*. There are now groups of *janamsakhis* which are virtually the same but the copyists have at random included or excluded some *Sakhis*. Whenever a scholar picks up a manuscript he gives a fanciful name to it, which tends to give the impression that it is the oldest and best. Some years ago Sikh Princes and sons of aristocratic families who joined Christian Convent schools were proud of acquiring Christian names such as William, Teddy, Robert, Anthony etc. In order to raise their social status in British society they preferred to be treated as Anglo-Indians rather than as Indian Sikhs. Similarly *janamsakhis* were given such fanciful names as *Walayat waujanam Sakhi*, (A foreign manufactured *janam Sakhi*), *Adi janam Sakhi*, *Prachin janam Sakhi*, *janam Sakhi* Meharban, *Bale Wau janam Sakhi*. The impression given by the last two names has been that it is Meharban who wrote it and it is Bhai Bala who wrote *Bale-Wali janam Sakhi*. Another dangerous trend has been to place the *janam Sakhi* Manuscript a scliolar is studying or working on, at the top, and either totally condemn or give inferior and insignificant position to other *janam Sakhis*. Instead of giving an analytical as well as historically and lingusitic exposition of a manuscript and giving a balanced comparison with others, the one-sided emotional praise of one *janam Sakhi* and building up far-fetched conjectural criticism of all other manuscripts has led to a situtation which has been exploited by scholars like Hew McLeod, who has built up outright condemnation of all *janam Sakhis* and would have proved that Guru Nanak did not exist but has failed to do so. But that is what he has tried to prove but the writings of Guru

Nanak in *Guru Granth* provide an irrefutable proof of Guru Nanak's historical existence. He might have attempted this misadventure also.

Everyone who claims to study and publish a particular *Janam-sakhis* forgets the existence of other historically important *Janamsakhis* on the basis of which Sarup Das Bhalla, Sant Ram Chibber, Kavi Santokh Singh wrote full length biographies of Guru Nanak which have pushed *Janam sakhis* to the background. When *Walayat-wali Janamsakhi* was patronized, the cheap, thoroughly corrupted Bale-wali *Janamsakhi* sold in Bazar Mai Sewa, Amritsar, was used to condemn all *Janamsakhis* having Bhai Bala as the companion along with Mardana. These scholars did not care to see that the Colebrock's manuscript (called *Walayat wali*) was a crude eighteenth century manuscript of a *Janamsakhi*, in which many things were missing and better copies of the same manuscript were available in Punjab. When Dr Kirpal Singh published *Meharban's Janamsakhi*, he ignored the fact that Guru Arjun had condemned the Minas and the basic historical contents of the *Janamsakhi*, and for centuries the Sikhs have not touched it, because he corrupts Bani and historical facts. He also glosses over the fact that Meharban carried on the anti-Sikh cult teachings and willfully corrupted Sikh history and doctrines, by saying that the word "*Mina*" was used only against Prithimal and not against his son Meharban."⁸ If this condemnatory prefix was attached to the father Prithimal, and his grandson Harji (known as Harji Mina) how was it possible that the son who multiplied the cult-mischief and innovations ten-folds, would not be called a Mina.

If Hew Mcleod starts the drum-beating of B40 MS of India office library's land gets the *Janamsakhi* and translation published through the like-minded Vice-Chancellor and Professor of Guru Nanak Dev University, this endless game of promoting particular manuscripts and running down others and even condemning other manuscripts of greater historical importance, has done irreparable damage to the proper, and in the true sense, academic study of

Janamsakhis. The attention of young researchers has been drawn away from *Bhai Mani Singh's Janamsakhis*. A study of old manuscripts of this *Janamsakhi* would have balanced the pulls to different extremes in *Janam Sakhi* Studies.

THE FIRST JANAM SAKHI AND
THE FIRST CORRUPTED JANAM SAKHI

Bhai Mani Singh's Bhagatmala is one historical document of immense importance which has not suffered much corruption, though the copyists of the old manuscripts have consciously or unwittingly made some changes in few places. The oldest manuscript copy we have was written sometime between 1733-1738 A.D. Bhai Mani Singh suffered martyrdom in 1734 A.D.

There are 60 *Sakhis* (33-99) in which devoted and enlightened disciples ask questions of historical and theo-logical importance and Guru Arjun gives precise answers which are recorded by Bhai Mani Singh in his inimitable prose, without comments or gloss. About a dozen *Sakhis* throw immense light on the foundation of Amritsar and construction of the Golden Temple, the relations of Guru Arjun with his brother's family Prithimal and with Meharban, compilation of *Guru Granth* and such vitally important matters.

In *Sakhi* 88 four Sikhs, Bhai Tirath, Bhai Natha, Bhai Bhau Mokil, and Bhai Dhili Mandal pose a question: "Mas-ter, when we hear the hymns of the true Gurus our minds are morally and spiritually exalted, but when we hear the *Bani* written by Prithimal and other Sodhis ending with the signature line 'Nanak', our mind is disturbed with thoughts of vanity, egoism and shrewdness (*abhiman te chaturai vadhadihai*). Guru Arjun addressed Bhai Gurdas saying, "At present the Sikhs are able to discriminate between the true *Bani* and the false *Bani* of outsiders, but in due course it will be difficult for Sikhs to differentiate the two". So collect all the *Bani Pothis*, so that an authentic *Granth* may be compiled. Also simplify the *Gurmukhi* script and make it easier for people to read and write. (*akhar*

bhi gurmukhi sugam kichai, sabh kise de vachan vich sugam avan.)”⁹

Then it relates how the *Pothis* lying in the Guru’s residence were first collected and how Baba Mohan’s *Pothis* were brought to Amritsar and *Adi Granth* compiled. It also gives a clear suggestion that all *pothis* or *Janamsakhis* written before the compilation of *Adi Granth* were written in the same style of earlier script in which Baba Mohan’s *Pothis* were written. This script continued to be used by the Gurus in their *Hukamnamas*. The simplified script used in *Adi Granth* became quite popular and all the subsequent religious literature was written in this style of script – now in common use.

The only *Janamsakhi* in this script is one which Baba Prem Singh Hoti Mardan possessed, apart from other manuscripts he had. In 1950 Dr Ganda Singh prepared a list of rare manuscripts and relics which was published by S.G.P.C., Amritsar. Amongst Baba Prem Singh Hoti’s pos-session, he found four *Janamsiikhis*, one of them beauti-fully illustrated, a copy of *Sikhan di Bhagat Mala* and one work on Ragas. Two *Janamsakhis* are very important.

(1) *Paida Mokhe Wali Janam Sakhi* f. 468. The script and writing is of the period of Guru Amar Das. The letters resemble the *Biini Pothis* of Baba Mohan.”¹⁰

(2) “The letters are in the reformed script. *Sakhis* are brief. It appears Bhai Gurdas based the *Sakhis* of his First *Viir* on this *Janam Sakhi*. It seems Bhai Gurdas has taken the *Sakhis* out of this *Janam Sakhi*. 240 folios, beautifully written.”¹¹

(3) Beautifully written *Janamsakhi*. Some very fine art-ist has illustrated them in Kangra style. It appears the paint-ings are fresh. The *Sakhis* resemble the *Janam Sakhi* of Pir Sher Muhammed Khan of Mardan. f. 460.”¹²

All these very rare manuscripts two of which are older than Krishan Lal’s Delhi manuscript dated 1658 A.D. have been completely ignored, although Baba Prem Singh Hoti was known to Hew McLeod and all other historians who have been writing *about Janam Sakhis*. All these years, these *Janam Sakhis* have been lying in Patiala, not far away from

the Punjabi University campus. They have been overlooked and ignored because they are in what is known as Bala tradition and they upset the apple carts of all historians who have been writing mythical stories about the importance of *Puratan* or *Meharban's Janam Sakhis*. These historians and scholars have already murdered Bala, the companion of Guru Nanak; they have maligned all Paida Mokha's *Janam Sakhis* and condemned them as Bala tradition. But these early *Janamsakhis* of Bala tradition are emerging to be the oldest manuscript.

Sakhi 40 in Bhai Mani Singh's *Sikhan-di-Bhagatmala* throws further light on Meharban's *Janam Sakhi*. Bhai Bir Nihalu, Tusli, Bula Chandiys came to the presence of Guru Arjun and said, "Master some people say that Guru Nanak was avatar of King Janak. Some others say he was avatar of a disciple of Janak. Graciously tell us the truth about Guru Nanak's personality. Guru Arjun replied, 'Guru Nanak was the Perfect Embodiment of the Light and Spirit of God. There are innumerable gods like Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva and Janaka in the universe. They all glorify and seek God whose Light and Spirit descended on Guru Nanak. The Hindu gods did not know the sublime grandeur of the Infinite Lord, who revealed Himself to Guru Nanak and infused His Light and Spirit in him. Guru Nanak was thus the *Guru-avatar* (Perfectly illumined Prophet) whose sole purpose in coming to the human world was to reveal the Light and Presence of God to true seekers and to awaken the consciousness of humanity to moral and spiritual truths."¹³

It is the Mina-guru Meharban who first introduced the theory that Guru Nanak was avatar of King Janak, father-in-law of Rama and father of Sita. As Guru Arjun had clearly declared "I am neither Hindu nor Musalman", Prithimal and Meharban associated themselves with the Hindus, by first declaring that Guru Nanak was avatar of King Janak, then introducing the maximum number of Hindu myths in the *Janam Sakhis*." The Minas did not only show Vaishnava leanings but even wrote a *Sukhmani*

to match Guru Arjun's *Sukhmani*. In the *Mina Sukhmani* Ram and Krishna are glorified.

It must be noted that when Zulfikar Ardistani the Zoroastrian author of *Dabistan* came from Iran side, he first came to Amritsar where the Golden Temple was under the control and supervision of Meharban and his son Harji Mina. The first thing these people told him was that Guru Nanak was avtar of King Janak. They also related to him many other legends which are recorded in *Dabistan* which no true devotee of the Sikh Guru has believed to this day.¹⁴ The author of *Dabistan* writes, "In short, after Arjan Mall, his brother, (*Bratha*), whom his followers name Guru Meharban (the Benevolent Guru) sat in his place. And now Guru Harji occupies his place. And these hold them as Bhagats, namely, the devotees of God. And the followers of Guru Hargobind, the son of Arjan Mall, name them Minas, which name among them is an opprobrious term. And after Arjan Mall, and Hargobind also claimed the succession to Guruship."¹⁵

In his introductory note to *hisjanam Sakhi*, Bhai Mani Singh answers a question asked by his devotees, as to how was the first *janam Sakhi* corrupted. Bhai Mani Singh says: "When Guru Arjun the fifth King of Kings, prepared a systemtized and authenticated *Adi Granth*, the Sikhs said to Guru Arjun, that there was no authentic copy of *janam Sakhi* and appealed to the Guru to prepare one. The *Minas* and cult leaders had corrupted the original *janam Sakhi* by adding their own imaginary stories. Guru Arjun asked Bhai Gurdas to write a *janam-Sakhi-di-Var* which could give positive guidelines to those who write a biography of Guru Nanak."¹⁶

These events show that Guru Arjun had become conscious of the fact that his Mina brother and nephew had started the process of corrupting *janamsakhis* to attain a fixed purpose. They wanted Guru Nanak to be included in the Hindu pantheon in order to get following amongst the Hindus as devout and committed Sikhs refused even to look at Minas. They changed Guru Nanak's place of

birth and dates of birth and death, because on the traditional dates the Sikhs went to Guru Arjun and Guru Hargobind. The *janamsakhis* in which the date of birth is given by Meharban, the date of death is also wrong. The date of death of Guru Nanak is given in all the historic recensions of *Adi Granth* and there are no two opinions about it.

After the corruption started by Meharban and his son, other cult leaders did what suited them. But amongst the true Sikhs Paida Mokha *janamsakhi* was popular through-out history. Then started the corruption and preparation of different versions of Paida Mokha's *janam Sakhis* mainly by Handaliyas whose sole aim was to denigrate the character and spiritual status of Guru Nanak. They placed Kabir above Guru Nanak, and Handal a disciple of Guru Amar Das above Kabir. The Jandiala Guru *Handalya* mahants deny that Bidhi Chand corrupted the *janam Sakhis*. It was they say Bisambhar Das who married a Muslim prostitute who corrupted the Bala version of *Janam Sakhi*. Bishambhar Das' date is given round about 1880 AD. But all historical records Persian, Urdu and Punjabi clearly state that it was Aqil Das, the fourth guru of the *Niranjaniyas* who continuously helped Abmad Shah Abdali against the Sikhs and the Misal leaders faced a life and death struggle against them throughout early eighteenth century. Dr Hari Ram Gupta writes about 1764 invasion of Abdali Emperor, "Abmad Shah then hurried on to Jandiala where his helper Guru Aqil Das lived. When the Mghan troops reached Jandiala, the Sikhs in a body came to oppose them. A battle was fought here also in which the Mghans were defeated and Rahim Khan Bakhshi was slain."¹⁷ Thus the corruption of *janam Sakhis* was organized by such cults as *Handalyas* who had set up parallel guruships and claimed to be direct spiritual descendents of Guru Nanak. Most of these cults became pro-Mughal pro-Mghan to gain political prestige and money power.

COMPOSITE JANAM SAKHIS AND NEW BIOGRAPHIES

To have a *janamsakhi* in an *Udasi* or *Sewa Pantht dera* was an essential matter. With so many types of *janam Sakhis* available efforts were made to pick and choose *Sakhis* and prepare new versions of *janam Sakhis* which can be called composite *janam Sakhis*. There are a number of the types of what is called *Puriitan* tradition. The Paida Mokha tradition popularly known as Bala tradition took many forms. The most important development was that Poets and Prose writers picked up the more reliable versions of *janam Sakhis* and prepared the following biographies: (1) *Sewa Panthi Sakhi Pothis*, (2) *Mehma Prakash* [Prose and Poetry], (3)

Sant Das *Chhiber's janam Sakhi* in poetry, (4) Kesar Singh Chhiber: *Bansavalinama*, (5) *Guru Nanak Dig Vijai Granth* by Sant Rein. In the early nineteenth century there were more biographies: (1) Pundit Rattan Hari: *Sri Guru Nanak Chandra Chandrika*, (2) Kavi Santokh Singh: *Sri Guru Nanak Prakash*, (3) Ganesh Singh Bedi: *Guru Nanak Suryode* (4) Baba Sumer Singh: *Sri Guru Nanak Pad Prem Prakash*. It is worth mentioning that nearly all these scholars selected some old version of Bala tradition even though they had noticed the versions corrupted by *Handalyas*.

NO MYTHS IN IMPORTANT AND RELIABLE JANAM SAKHIS

Take any *janam Sakhis* other than the Meharban and Handalya version. With very few exceptions the anecdotes are about simple and common folk the type we saw almost in every Punjab village before 1946 when Sikhs, Muslims and Hindus lived together. Almost all Biographers of the eighteenth and nineteenth century have selected some *janam Sakhis* of Bala tradition taking care to warn their readers against corrupt Bala versions. Other *Janam Sakhis* which were in circulation have been ignored. The reasons are obvious:

Firstly, the dates given in older *Janam Sakhis* are correct and accepted by local tradition. There are about eleven tentative dates. There are about 50 more *Sakhis* in older

manuscripts of Bala's *janam Sakhis* than in other versions and the regional history support the events of this *Janam Sakhi*. The names of villages, rivers, mountains and places given in the *janam Sakhi* are generally correct. The people Guru Nanak meets at Talwandi and Sultapur are simple folks, human beings of the type always found in rural areas or in the courts. The character of Daulat Khan Lodhi, Babur, and Sufi saints whom Guru Nanak met is correctly described in these *janam Sakhs*. All *janam Sakhis* are less informed about Guru Nanak's travels outside Punjab, but the pointers are correct. Local history of Guru Nanak is found in research work in regional documents of different areas. Tibetan documents of the Red-cap Lamas will undoubtedly yield considerable amount of material on Guru Nanak's visit to Tibet and Himalayan region. No research work has been carried on in Kabul and the Middle-East where there are shrines and memorial stones commemorating Guru Nanak's memory.

For fifteen years the author of this book tried to visit as many historical shrines of Guru Nanak as he could on his own, because no Sikh Institution has ever offered any financial or other help for such a project. Some universities sent some individuals, but they did not spend any time with local historians and archeologists to probe into historical past, but merely published reports as a journalist does. During the first world war one Kartar Singh of Sansarpur (Jullundur district) was posted in Baghdad and sent some material which was used by Khazan Singh, with whom he had lengthy correspondence, and to Sewa Ram Singh and Bhai Vir Singh. Grandson of Khazan Singh was kind enough to give me the original letters of S. Kartar Singh (Sansarpur) which has been corroborated by local Baghdad history. Similarly abundant material including a stone inscription in Anuradhapur Museum was brought to light about many details of Guru Nanak's visit to Sri Lanka (Ceylon).

Having criticized, condemned outright and completely rejected the *janam Sakhis*, McLeod then tried to build

negative and destructive analytical themes about his visit to Baghdad and Sri Lanka. We give here a resume of the eminent Persian scholar, historian and educationist, (for-merly D.P.I., Punjab Govt.) Professor R.S. Verma's trenchant criticism of Hew McLeod's views on Guru Nanak's visit to Baghdad.

GURU NANAK'S VISIT TO BAGHDAD: MCLEOD'S
BASELESS SCEPTICISM

We quote verbatim from Prof. Verma's article which was read in Punjab History Conference Fifth Session and published in Proceedings of Punjab History Conference March 1970, Punjabi University. Prof. Verma first pinpoints Hew McLeod's distorted statements and then comments on them. We will give a resume of both in their own words:

1. Hew McLeod says that most of the events recorded by Bhai Gurdas about Nanak's travels outside his province are products of his imagination. "He calls them an unsubstantiated possibility, a remote possibility." Prof. Verma says "Bhai Gurdas was born a few years after Guru Nanak's death and his work is semi-contemporary if not contemporary and his works are considered key to *Guru Granth*. "McLeod seems to be conscious of the unique position of Bhai Gurdas and semi-apologetically qualifies his lack of belief by saying that "he does not suggest that Bhai Gurdas has related a deliberate falsehood."

2. Professor Verma gives evidence of the Turkish influence on the language of Baghdad Arabic. As the Turks held dominant sway even before their final occupation in 1534 A.D.

3. The quatrain has been rightly translated as given in plate No. 8 of the *Sikh Review*. Guru Nanak Birth Quincentenary Vol. 3 reproduced below:

"Behold, a wish has been fulfilled by Holy and high Providence: that the building of Baba Nanak has been newly built up with the help of seven *walis* (saints). The blessed disciple (of Baba Nanak) has started a fountain of

grace issuing new water in the land. 917 Hijri (equivalent 1511 A.D).

The writing is the result of carving in stone. The figures reading 917 are quite clear. There is a place for a fourth digit which is occupied by the dot of 'Noon', the letter forming part of the word *san*, standing for the year. In any case the figure of two could not be overcarved as the nine as suggested by McLeod. According to *Abjad* the various alphabets have the following values:

1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10

20,30,40,50,60,70,80,90,100

100, 200, 300, 400, 500, 600, 700, 800, 900,
and 900 and 1000

27, 59, 204, 216, 13, 254, 144

Totalling 917

This value viz. 917 clearly carved, embossed in the inscription is also clear pointer to the correctness of the letters constituting the chronogram-which, therefore, does not warrant any change in wording. To conclude, the language of the inscription is (Persianized) Ottoman Turkish, bearing public influences, the metre also is a standard Persian Turkish Form, allowing the word Baba Nanak with permissible poetic, because of shortening a long *vao* in a proper noun and the chronogram correctly conforms to the year inscribed. The proof provided by the inscription establishes the fact of Guru Nanak's visit to Baghdad beyond any reasonable grounds of scepticism and incredibility.⁷¹⁸ In my Biography of Guru Nanak, I have given the inscriptions and their translations all in Turkish Persian form. Prof Verma agreed with me that the date could also be 927 Hijri that is December 1520-21, which is historically correct.

On the same pattern Hew McLeod tried to refute the evidence of Guru Nanak's visit to Sri Lanka (Ceylon). He tried to prove by negative suggestions and discursive criticism that Guru Nanak never went to Sri Lanka and the historical events narrated in *Janam Sakhis* and other documents are pure myths. The author of this book in his

Biography of Guru Nanak published in 1970, has given irrefutable evidence of Guru Nanak's visit to Sri Lanka, based on a stone Inscription, and references to the disciples of Guru Nanak and their children and grand children Mayadune and Krishna Raja who built their Capital Sitawaka and emerged as the most powerful rulers of Sri Lanka. A disciple of Guru Arjun who visited the city described the devotion of these rulers to Guru Nanak and the manner they developed the Sikh institution of *Langar*. Fearing that these powerful devotees of Baba Nanak may re-emerge as a power, the Portuguese razed the whole grand city of Sitawaka to the ground.

I am firmly of the opinion that further / search for older manuscripts of *janam Sakhis* of sixteenth and seventeenth century, particularly manuscripts which were written either during the life-time of Guru Arjun or earlier, will throw considerable light on the original *janam Sakhi*. If any such old manuscript has any resemblance to older *janam Sakhi* it will be closer to the oldest copy of Paida Mokha *janam Sakhi* and it will refute till the false and fabulous misconstructions of Meharban's and Handalya's *janam Sakhis* which Sikh scholars have been condemning and ignoring throughout the centuries. Bala will emerge as a remarkable historical figure like Mardana along with a few other companions of Guru Nanak, though he may not appear in so many *Sakhis* to which his name is added. In later, corrupted versions Bala is added even in *Sakhis* where he plays no role.

Sant Das Chibber in his *Biography* makes it clear that it was Paida Mokha who acted as a scribe because he was one of the very few Sikhs who not only knew Gurmukhi script introduced by Guru Nanak during the last two decades of his life, but he also was well-versed in Takari and Sharda in which Guru Nanak's *janam Patri* and earlier documents were written. Bala was one of the few surviving companions of early life of Guru Nanak, particularly his Master's life in Talwandi, Sultan pur and his first *Udasi*.

The two surviving *Bani Pothis* of Baba Mohan are

written in old Gurmukhi Script in a very fool-proof calligraphic style with 13 words in each line and 13 lines on each page. On one of the pages, Guru Ram Das has added two *Shabads* in his own hands and signed his name as “*Ghulam Mastan jeth Chand*”. One of the *Pothis* has 300 pages and the other has 224 pages. In every *Pothi* first *Bani* of the Gurus is recorded followed by *Bhagat Bani*.”

Seeing that some short-sighted University historians, and misguided research scholars, working under them, have eliminated Bhai Bala, Hew McLeod has used all his ingenuity, in destroying the whole China-shop of *janam Sakhis* by a ruthless and savage use of his horns of arrogant ingrained prejudices, carrying to the extreme his motivated, demeaning attacks. The findings of the so-called B 40 (IOL) *janam Sakhi*, could be completely nullified by the publication of an equally important B 41 *janam Sakhi* and the *janam Sakhis* in Baba Prem Singh Hoti's library. That day is not far when all the dark falsehood constructed by Hew McLeod will disappear like an autumn cloud in the light of truth, and correct and unprejudiced analysis of authentic *janam Sakhis* of the sixteenth, seventeenth and early eighteenth century.

Fritz Mauthner began his four-volume history of atheism in the West with the statement: “God has died. The time has come to write His history.” Hew McLeod begins his works by saying, “I have demolished the fragile structure of *janam Sakhis*, the source of historical Guru Nanak. Guru Nanak of history is dead. Guru Nanak of faith exists as a shadow in the name of some sentimental Sikhs. With these premises I have written Sikh history. All who dislike or demean Sikhism should read my books.” Perhaps the type of like-minded readers whom he is addressing enjoy his books. Just as every clown in a circus and every villain in a film story, has his fans who are thrilled at what they do, every book written to hurt, humiliate and run down the Sikhs, their history and religion has its admirers. But Guru Nanak who lives in his works in *Guru Granth* is as immortal as eternal Light. Sikhism and all its doctrines,

which scholars have studied and saints have practised, will remain unshakable like a rock and blaze the trail of a new era in world history when it shines in the hearts of those seekers of Truth who live and practice Sikhism.

Lack of honest and sincere leadership, lack of dedicated and selfless religious and cultural organization, and lack of social and political freedom after 1947 have pushed the Sikhs and Sikhism into the pit of persecution, political slavery and cultural tyranny. Out of this they will certainly come out and the sacrifices, the passion for freedom among the Sikhs will attract the attention of world leaders in every field, and by the grace of God, Sikhs will usher a new era not only in Punjab but on the world-stage.

REHIT : MORAL AND SPIRITUAL CODE OF CONDUCT AND

REHITNAMAS : MANUALS OF CODE OF CONDUCT

We have already explained that Guru Nanak introduced the *charan-pahul amrit* ceremony, and even Guru Gobind Singh initiated disciples according to this ceremony for the first twenty-four years of his Guruship. As we have already stated the “*Gurmukh Holy Order of Guru Nanak*” was replaced by Guru Gobind Singh by the Khalsa Holy Order only eight years before his departure from the world. The Khalsa Holy Order had to shoulder in future, as Panth (and not as any self-styled *Panthic Committee* imposed from outside) all religious, cultural and political authority, as is being done today.

Mere initiation did not make a person a Sikh. It was his life led according to Sikh ideals which makes him a Sikh. From Guru Nanak to Guru Gobind Singh the *Guru mantra* and the fundamental *Rehit*, of “What a Sikh should do and what he should not do”, besides following *Gurbani* in letter and spirit, was given orally and everyone was told that he would find confirmation of all the moral and spiritual ideals in the *Guru Granth*. Oral instructions of the Gurus regarding *Rehit* were recorded earlier in *Sakhis* (Sermons). In some of the recensions of *Adi Granth*, written during the time of Guru Hargobind, we have the oldest

Rehitnama, recorded on the blank pages, attached to *Adi Granth*, entitled five things a Sikh should do and Five things he should not do.

The word *Rehit* occurs in more than thirty-five hymns revealing its importance in *Guru Granth*. Bhatt (Bard) Bhikha, the leader of the Bhatt's contributors to *Adi Granth* writes:

“I was in search of an Enlightened Saint and Apostle of God and in this search I saw and met many holymen and saints. Amongst these were *sannyasins* (Hindu monks), *Tapasvi yogis* who per-formed penance, and intellectually sharp Pundits. They were all sweet in speech and manners. For one year I wandered from one holy man to another. Not one of them could enlighten me with spiritual experience. They talked and I listened to their sermons of high moral and spiritual ideals, but I could not meet one among them who lived the *Rehit* (moral and spiritual injunctions) they preached to others. Turning their back on remembrance of God, they are attached to unspiritual aims and objectives. The Merciful Lord guided my steps to the true Guru (Amardas) who has enlightened me. Lord I abide by Thy Will.”¹⁹

So the word *Rehit* simply means to practice with mind, speech and deed the moral and spiritual ideals which are imparted by the Spiritual Guide. We have already discussed the basic principles of the *Gurmukh Panth* and *Khalsa Panth* in Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8 of this book and have shown that the fundamental moral and spiritual ideals of Sikhism are the same. The *Guru Granth*, which was given a secondary position to the historical Guru has been raised to the status of Eternal Guru. The *Guru Granth* has to be revered and worshipped not by merely showing external hypocritical reverence, but has to be followed in letter and spirit. The Word of the Canonized Scriptures of Guru Gobind Singh and Bhai Gurdas and Bhai Nand Lall have to be treated at par with it.

Such *Vars* of Bhai Gurdas as No : 6,9, 18, 19, 20, 22, 28, 29, each having 20 to 22 stanzas (*paunis*) are nothing but authentic *Rehitnamas*, which *Gurmukh* Sikhs or *Gur-Sikhs* of yester years and Khalsa of the Khalsa Holy Order have followed and must follow for all times to come. Bhai

Nand Lall wrote two *Rehitnamas*, both published in the complete works of Bhai Nand Lall (preserved in Bhai Kahan Singh's library) entitled *Bhai Nand Lall Granthavali*. The first was written in 1695 A.D. as the Colophon indicates; it starts with the lines *gur-sikh rehit sunho mere mit*: Listen my friend to the *Rehit* of a *gursikh*. It is Guru Gobind Singh addressing Bhai Nand Lall and answering some questions about *Rehit*. The dialogue is between *Sri Gurdev vach* and *Nand Lall vach* Utterance of the Guru and that of Nand Lall. The second *Rehitnama* is about the *Khalsa Holy Order Rehit* entitled *Tankhahnama*. The Khalsa who does not obey the injunction of the *gursikh Rehitnama* can be given corrective punishment for laxity in his prayers, meditations, and moral errors. Disciplinary punishment generally includes prayers and service of *sangat* and repentance. This *Rehitnama* ends with Guru Gobind Singh's vision of the future *Khalsa Panth*.

Listen, Nand Lall, we declare the Truth,
 We shall in time establish our sovereignty;
 We shall blend four castes into one,
 We shall inspire people to utter the Name of God;
 We shall ride the Steeds of Freedom.
 We shall fly the falcon of royal sovereignty,
 Seeing which oppressor shall fade away.
 We shall make one Sikh strong enough,
 To fight a hundred thousand men, who oppose the Panth
 We shall exalt the Khalsa spiritually,
 When they fight relentlessly for righteousness.
 The spears of glorious victory will arise aloft;
 The royal elephants shall carry fluttering flags,
 Then thousands of cannons will be fired for freedom,
 The Khalsa shall be victorious from East to West.
 The Khalsa shall be free and sovereign and will rule,
 No one will dare to resist its mighty power.
 After suffering from internal conflicts all shall unite,
 He alone shall be saved who takes refuge in His Presence.

Somebody wrote a third *Rehitnama* in the name of Bhai Nand Lall, published by Hew McLeod along with his version of Chaupa Singh's *Rehitnama*. This is not a *Rehitnama* of Bhai Nand Lall but has been written in his name. The very language, expression and style reveals that

the great poet never wrote this. Bhai Nand Lall never wrote any prose except in his letters. Everything he wrote was in poetry bubbling with the light and life.

Other great contemporaries like Bhai Daya Singh, Bhai Desa Singh and Bhai Chaupa Singh wrote *Rehitnamas* which were of a few pages. But either their descendents or some other scribes added so much material to them that the new and later versions cannot be called *Rehitnamas* of contemporaries, in any sense of the word. Many years ago the eminent scholar Sant Smpuran Singh published a 300 page manuscript entitled *Sudharam Marag* as Bhai Daya Singh's *Rehitnama*. It is a historically useful document, prepared by some *Nirmala* scholar of early nineteenth century. Neither the language nor the contents can be attributed to Bhai Daya Singh.

The same is the case with the lengthy *Rehitnama* of Chaupa Singh which Hew McLeod has published with his own style of translation and his own pattern of motivated comments. He says, the original copy of this document was destroyed in the Blue-Star attack on the Library. I have known it all along, on the information provided by two police officers and a peon on duty in the Golden Temple during the military attack, that the books and manuscripts were taken out and then the Library rooms were set on fire. This information came *to-me* from two police officers who packed over two hundred bags of precious manuscripts and books. On the day this chapter is being written the outgoing government has declared that these manuscripts will be returned. I have with me copies of other manuscripts of Chaupa Singh's *Rehitnama* lying in other libraries including Guru Nanak Dev University manuscript, which are identical in text.

It will be possible to comment on the authenticity of Hew McLeod's version and other manuscripts which will be published in detail in some Journal in due course.

The *Thirty Three Swayas* of Guru Gobind Singh was the first *Rehitnama* in the Master's own hand. The first verse defines the *Khalsa* thus:

Awake to the Eternal Light (*gyotl*)
 Meditating day and night,
 The Name of the Lord;
 Having no faith in any deity
 Except the One Lord;
 Absorbed in His Splendour,
 Absorbed in His Love;
 Even in error
 Never believing,
 In fasts and worship of tombs
 Nor temples of idolatory;
 Caring not even for
 Bathing in holy rivers and places,
 Nor for penances of yogis,
 Nor for ascetic practices of sannyasis.
 Know such a Child of Light.
 Such a paragon, such a complete Man,
 In whose heart ever shines,
 The Perfect Light of God
 To be the *Khalsa*.

Guru Gobind Singh, *Thirty Three Swayas* :

The point to be noted is that in the innumerable verses of Guru on the *Rehit* of *Khalsa* and a Perfect Sikh, emphasis is not on external symbols. The strongest stress is on inner life, Sikh meditations and prayers.

As we can see around us today there are countless people who call themselves Sikhs, and have hair, beard and other symbols. But they openly call themselves atheists, Marxists, materialists, hedonists (like Sant Nirankaris) and other cult preachers. They are neither Sikhs nor *Khalsa* in any sense of the word. These bearded and turbaned Sikhs with the suffix 'Singh' attached to them are the greatest enemies of Sikh religion, history and culture these days. The Delhi Rulers have given them high positions in political set up and in the universities to run down Sikhism and do as much damage as they can to Sikhs and Sikhism, but the game has reached the tether's end. A bitter reaction amounting to revolutionary protests has set in.

The *Rehitnamas* are not canonized documents. When a Sikh accepts baptism at the *Akal Takht* or any other authentic place, he is given the same oral instruction which

Guru Gobind Singh gave to the First Beloved Five. No baptized Sikh is officially handed over any particular *Rehitnama* in writing. Written *Rehitnamas* are of two kinds. One which are based on the historical and traditional *Rahit* instructions. They are basically the same but are published under different names. The second type are the Cult - *Rehitnamas*, in which cults like Namdharis and Nirankaris or other *Sants* add to these traditional *Rehitnamas* their own innovations of dress, dietary and other things. These *Rehitnamas* may serve the purpose of cult-groups to some extent but they ultimately are ignored by the Sikh *Sangats* and like the cult group die a natural death. *Guru Granth* gives the essence of Sikh Code of Conduct.

“If one lives according to the Guru’s *Rehit*

His evil propensities (*vikara*)

Gradually diminish and disappear.”²⁰

Guru Granth, Guru Arjun, *Gauri*, p. 259

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8. *Janam Sakhi Meharban*, ed. by Kirpal Singh and Ashok.
9. Bhai Mani Singh., *Sikhan-dii-Bhagatmal*, Sakhi 88/100
10. Dr Ganda Singh, *Sikh Itihasik Yadgaran*, Amritsar 1950, p. 68.
11. *ibid.*, p. 68.
12. *ibid.*, p. 69.
13. Bhai Mani Singh: *Sikhan-di-Bhagatmal*, Sakhi 40/52.
14. “And they have stories, and say that Baba Nanak was in ancient times King Janak. In the opinion of these disciples of Nanak, (the Minas) Guru Nanak was in one of the previous births (creations), King Janak, and along with (the exercise of temporal power he had accomplished spiritual ends, and called mankind to God.”
Zulfikar Ardistani, *Damstan Eng. Tr.* by Umrao Singh Majitha, : *Khalsa Review*, June 1930, p. 7-8
15. *ibid.*, p. 11-12.

16. Bhai Mani Singh, *Janam Sakhi*, Litho copy p. 1.
17. 1. Dr Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol. I, p. 201.
 2. Dr N.K. Sinha writes "In their struggle for independence Sikhs suffered much molestation because of these people, whose one aim was to ingratiate themselves into the favour of the Durrani. They would even point the Sikh boys and women, hiding in corn fields, so that the Durrani might drag them out. To enumerate only a few most important cases, it was on the information of a Niranjani that a very prominent Sikh Sukha Singh was arrested in 1753, it was a Niranjani Harmukh Das who supplied information leading to the arrest of Taru Singh in 1746; it was a Niranjani who had supplied information leading to the persecution of the family of a prominent Sikh, Mehtab Singh.
 N.K. Sinha, *Rise of the Sikh Power*, p. 34.
18. Prof. R.S. Verma's paper in Proceedings of Punjab History Conference (March (1970) should be read along with his article on the same subject in *Sikh Review - Guru Nanak Birth Quin-Centenary*, Vol. I, 1970. W.H. McLeod's quotations are from his book *Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion*, (1968) p. 88, 126.
19. *rahio sarit hauri toh siidh bahutere dilhe sannyasi tapasiyah, mukhun eh Pundit mi!he baras ek haun phiro kinai nah parchai layio. kahtyeh kahati sun Rehit ko khushi na ayio. hari nam chod dujai lage tin gun haun kia kahun guru daya milayio bhikkha jiv tun rakhai tin rahaun Bhikha's Swayai*, Mahalla Three
20. Rehit Rhiti Rahi jae bikara.

PART III

ERNEST TRUMPP, HEW McLEOD AND SCHOLARLY CHRISTIAN RESPONSE TO SIKH ISM

“If you will not be Christians, be at least men, treat us as you would, if having only the weak light of Justice, which nature bestows, you had not a religion to conduct and a revelation to enlighten you.

“If you have this truth, hide it not from us by the manner in which you prepare it. The characteristics of truth is its triumph over hearts and minds and not that importance which you confess, which would force us to receive it by condemnation and torture.

It is necessary that we should! warn you of one thing, that is, if anyone in times to come shall dare to assert this that the age in which we live, the people of Europe were civilized, you will be cited to pronounce that they were barbarous, and the idea they will have, if you will be such as will dishonour your age, and spread hatred over all your contemporaries.

Montesquieu, ‘The Spirit of Law’

“Our road is not one of cowardice. It is the road of the Spirit. It is the strategy of continual retreat of tragic endurance. The enemy exhausts himself chasing us and is lost in the forest of our history. “

Stefan Zweig

THUS SPAKE GURU GOBIND SINGH

*Some call themselves Hindus,
Others call themselves Muslims;
Some consider themselves Shias;
Some consider themselves Sunnis;
Of the Imam Shaft's School;
Recognize mankind to be one human race;
There is but One God of all.
Who is the 'Creator and Compassionate' of
Hindus He is the 'Sustainer and Merciful' of Muslims.
All humanity worshiPs One and the same God.
The Eternal Lord is the Enlightener of all.
Know Him to be One Beauteous Spirit.
Know Him to be One Splendrous Light.*

Akal Ustat, 85

*Guru Nanak was the Founder of this dharma : Sikhism;
He gave a New Way of Life for all seekers of Truth,
Those who walk on Guru Nanak's Path
Would never suffer from inner affliction and sorrows
Foolish and ignorant people consider,
All Sikh Gurus to be different in mind and Spirit.
Few enlightened saints and seers,
Have comprehended them to be One in Spirit;
Only those who understand this eternal Truth,
Acquire spiritual enlightenment and perfection.
Without understanding this mystical Truth,
One cannot achieve any spiritual perfection.*

Autobiography, Ch. 5, 10

CHAPTER 15

**COMPARISON BETWEEN ERNEST TRUMPP AND HEW
MCLEOD'S EXPOSITION OF SIKH RELIGION,
HISTORY AND SCRIPTURES**

It is the misfortune of a tiny but vigorously assertive and manifestly visible ethnic minority like the Sikhs to become a soft target of the Pundits and learned Academics of hostile Christian Missionary Groups on the one hand and Dominant Majority Rulers of Delhi whose repression of the Sikhs has attracted world-wide attention on the other. While the books written by the hostile Christian Missionary Groups have created bitter reaction in the minds of knowledgeable and sensitive Sikhs every where, the Caesarism of the Dominant Majority Delhi Rulers has been responsible for the torture and death of thousands of Sikh men, women and children since 1984. These learned Christian Missionary scholars have concentrated all their energies and ex-hausted all their tricks of their brand of historical method-ology of distorting truth by presenting utterly false and unsubstantiated exposition and analysis of Sikh history and doctrines.

These cynical critics aim at hurting the Sikhs and Sikhism by imputing to this religion what is strongly criticized in its scriptures. Their lopsided irrational arguments are always dressed in pretentious posture of authentic knowledge of Sikhism. They puzzle and confuse those who have some appreciative knowledge of Sikhism. Their books published by prestigious publishers are enthusiastically used by some who are ignorant of the original and reliable sources of Sikhism. This is the only merit of their work

and the so called research work in a religion for which they have neither any reverence nor even formal respect. Whoever comes to know about the truth of Sikh doctrines and history would not even touch such books with a pair of tongs in times to come.

Out of the hostile Hindu critics of Sikh Gurus and Sikh religion the name of Swami Dayananda, the Arya Samaj leader is conspicuous. Nearly all the battles of Hindus against Sikhs in Punjab in the field of religion, culture and politics have their roots in the inherent and inbred hostility of Arya Samajists against Sikhs. The organized campaign of Hindu Punjabis against their mother-tongue and all that has followed the basic Sikh struggle for their fundamental freedoms have been unashamedly led by Arya Samaj leaders. This Vedic scholar, Swami Dayanand, who did not know a word of any language used in *Guru Granth* declared that Guru Nanak was a *ganwar* (an illiterate rus-tic) because he did not know Sanskrit, the language of Hindu gods and wrote poetry in his mother-tongue, a rus-tic language. He even attacked Christ and Mohammed much more contemptuously, using vulgar and unprintable language for them.¹

Giani Dit Singh, a low caste Hindu convert to Sikhism and a great Sanskrit scholar noted that Swami Dayanand was only making a fool of Punjabi Hindus, Sikhs, Christians and Muslims who did not know Sanskrit. He accepted Swami Dayananda's challenge for a debate. He not only defeated the Swami on the issues raised by him about Vedas and Sikh religion, but was hooted down and had to suffer humiliation in the debate. He left Lahore for a long time. Giani Dit Singh has recorded all this in his booklet "*Mere SadhuDayanand Nal Sambad*": (My Debate with Sadhu Dayananda). This booklet set in motion an intellectual wave of reform movement known as "*Singh Sabha move-ment*".

Some years later this attitude of Arya Samaj movement again created communal conflicts by publication of *Rangila Rasul* (Pleasure-loving Prophet) by Swami

Shardhananda leading to Hindu-Muslim riots in 1924. Swami Shardhanand was murdered in 1929 by two young Muslims, an act that was widely acclaimed in the Muslim community. The Sikhs did not get involved in these Hindu Muslim conflicts and riots.

The Christian Missionaries were very active all over Punjab. Their reports to their superiors show their ignorance about Sikh history and religion, and their observations are based on hearsay and crude information by their informers. Anyway, Christian Missionaries were the first to realize that it was easy to spread the message of Christ through the mother-tongue of the people. They concentrated on the study of regional languages. Some missionaries were deeply impressed by the Sikh Scriptures. Their perceptions of the moral and spiritual fervour of *Guru Granth* is as enlightened and noble as that of a knowledgeable Sikh devotee.

Out of the Christian Missionaries, Ernest Trumpp, who was the first and outstanding scholar whose work was patronized, published and highly praised by interested British Imperialists and like-minded Christian Missionaries, who propagated their faith by running down religions other than their own. The attitude of these British Imperialists remained the same towards the scholarly six volumes of Max Arthur Macauliffe during his life time.

The anti-Sikh Hindu Pundits tried to induct caste-system and Hindu ceremonies into Sikh Society among the ignorant Sikh masses for whom the *Guru Granth* became a closed Holy Book because printed copies of this Sacred work were not available, and the readers, reciters and interpreters of Sikh Scriptures became still more rare. These Pundits tried to win some illiterate or semi-literate Sikh Princes, so that they could impose these Hindu caste system and ceremonies already rejected by the Sikh Prophets in these states and control the polity and religion of the Sikh State with all their age-old Brahmanical strategy and nefarious designs of Brahmanical Hindu hegemony.

These Hindu Pundits were hell-bent on proving that Sikhs

were a low-grade sect of Hindus, not entitled to the upper-caste privileges, though they refused to accept the suggestion that Hindus should become Sikhs and show reverence for Sikh Gurus and Sikh Scriptures. This dirty game against the Sikhs continues with unabated Brahmanical fury and zeal even 45 years after British Raj has left this country leading to moral and political bankruptcy and unprecedented repression of all the fundamental freedoms of the Sikhs in their own Homeland Panjab, and is openly used everywhere in the country where this notorious anti-minority policy works with the help of State Governments.

The Hindu Pundits of early twentieth century tried to capture the mind and thoughts of Maharaja Hira Singh of Nabha (1843-1911) and aimed at changing the Sikh State into a Hindu theocratic State. Maharaja Hira Singh was no doubt illiterate but he had a strong sense of discrimination and he evolved his own methods of understanding what was right and wrong and also his own strategies of fooling those who tried to fool him. Once some Hindu Pundits came with an ambitious plan of building a Hindu School and College, with learned staff of Pundits of great knowledge, the generous Maharaja known for keeping his word listened to the detailed plans and its vast cost. Giving his assent to the costly project he said, "Leaving my residential palace, select anyone or two state building for the school. I will get them vacated immediately. All the furniture and other material will be provided by the State within a month. And here is one hundred rupees for your miscellaneous expenses. Please see that the school starts immediately within three months. Appoint the best staff. Their pay will be given by the State." That was the beginning and end of Hindu School and College in Nabha.²

Maharaja Hira Singh organized an open debate between Hindu Pundits who believed that Sikhism was a low-caste sect of Hinduism with a young Sikh scholar Bhai Kahan Singh, son of an eminent saint and scholar Bhai Narayan Singh who was not only a great theologian but

could read and recite the whole *Guru Granth* in one continuous sitting. Bhai Kahan Singh silenced all Hindu Pundits by basing his discussion on authentic quotations from the Sikh Scriptures. He subsequently published the debate in his book *Ham Hindu Nahi*.³ Kahan Singh's arguments were logical and authentic. The arguments put forward by the Pundits were untenable and unsubstantiated. Maharaja Hira Singh rewarded young Kahan Singh with a grant of land which could be tilled by six pairs of bullocks. The family still owns this land.

This book of about 150 pages stemmed the tide of cultural erosion by Brahmanical Hindu Pundits who have never concealed their hatred for all that is best in Sikh history and scriptures. This is clear from the manner in which these Hindu Pundits consciously and deliberately misguided Browne, Nicholson, Trumpp and many others, who sought information from these self-styled Hindu scholars of Sikhism.⁴

Just after the partition of the country there was a correspondence, now partly published, between Prime Minister Jawahar Lal Nehru and Home Minister Sardar Patel about finalizing their choice of a pro-government, or rather pro-Congress Sikh-cult or political group which could help them to run down the main Sikh leadership and in creating chaos and confusion about the Sikh problems and demands. Pundit Nehru suggested "Nationalist Sikh Party" headed by Sardar Sant Singh M.P. Sardar Patel remarked that the Nationalist Sikhs were as good as other Akali Sikhs. He rejected them outright. Pundit Nehru then suggested the Namdhari followers of the great Revolutionary Baba Ram Singh, who have given up all revolutionary activities and were ready to act as prestigious white sheep of the Congress Party in white Namdhari dress. Sardar Patel rejected them. The fanatic Sardar Patel wanted black-sheep, with absolutely black hearts but with white holy robes of piety. His choice fell on Sant Nirankaris, who were willing to play the same anti-Sikh dirty game which the *Niranjanias* of Jandiala played at the hands of Mughal invaders Ahmed

Shah Abadali.⁵ They were given the same type of royal privileges and V.I.P. treatment which Ahmad Shah Abdali gave to Niranjanias and Mrs. Indira Gandhi used them as the sharpest weapon against the Sikhs. The blood curdling exploits of Ahmed Shah Abdali and Mrs. Indira Gandhi, ended in their organized attack on the Golden Temple, Amritsar, the most sacred shrine of the Sikhs. This attack on the Golden Temple also marked the beginning of the end of the dynastics rule of Ahmad Shah Abdali and Mrs Indira Gandhi in India. This also created a congenial at-mosphere for a hostile forces like various cults, Marxist, surrogate intellectuals and the Christian Missionary Group of Batala Baring Christian College to distort and denigrate Sikh Prophets, their religion and history provoking disas-trous reactions. We now give the comparison between Ernest Trumpp's attack on Sikh history and religion be-tween 1870-1892 and Hew McLeod and his Group's con-tinuing onslaught on the sublimest doctrines and irrefut-able facts of Sikh history and culture between 1970-1993.

The main interest of Ernest Trumpp and Hew McLeod in Sikhism is their missionary motive and the purpose of this missionary motive in the words of Professor Geoffrey Parrinder is "to gain as much knowledge as possible to discover the weak points and undermine the religious stud-ies. But a little reflection should show that a completely unbaised study is essential if the heart of the religion is to be unveiled, for religion is the dearest of human concerns and men will not reveal the secrets of the faith to the critical outsider, so that the propagandist can hardly have an insider's knowledge of another faith, Nor can another religion be understood without complete sympathy."⁶

Both Ernest Trumpp and Hew McLeod are so shrill and screeching in their criticism of Sikhism that even the holy academic garb which they put on of posing as scientific historians and critics to cover their malicious missionary intentions falls as soon as they stoop to violent denunciations of Sikhism and pass extremely vulgar and uncharitable remarks about profound and deep Sikh doctrines.

Both Ernest Trumpp and Hew McLeod claim to know the languages of Sikh Scriptures and medieval Sikh historical records which are in colloquial Punjabi, classical literary punjabi (various dialects), Braj, Avadhi and Persian. This is the impression carried by those readers of Trumpp and McLeod who do not have first hand knowledge of the original sources. But those who have good knowledge of the languages of Sikh Scriptures and the primary sources of Sikh history are shocked by their stark ignorance of these languages except the colloquial Punjabi of the *janamsakhis* of Guru Nanak. Ernest Trumpp was a good scholar of Sanskrit of which Hew McLeod is completely ignorant, and the knowledge particularly his knowledge of Sanskrit prosody was useful to him at least in appreciating the hymns of the Gurus in popular Sanskrit and Prakrit languages. Being a linguistic he also vaguely felt that *Adi Granth* was a treasure trove of medieval languages.

Ernest Trumpp unlike Hew McLeod had worked in other fields besides Sikh Scriptures. In 1866 A.D. Ernest Trumpp translated the Sindhi mystic Shah Latifs poems for the first time. Shah Latif was one of the earliest poets in Sindhi literature who wrote his Sindhi mystical songs in Ragas and used love-romances of *Sassi Punnu* and *Sohini Mahiwal* to express his mystical ideas. His collected works are called: “*Shaha jeo Risalo*”: The Book of Shah”.

Annemarie Schimmel comments that the German missionary Ernest Trumpp who was the first to translate Shah Latifs poems “thoroughly disliked Sufism and thought they were too full of jingling rhymes and puns.”⁷ Neither Ernest Trumpp nor Hew McLeod can ever conceal their missionary arrogance and contempt for any religion or religious teacher other than those of their own religion. They use their limited knowledge of the language of oriental text as a weapon to censure and denigrate the sublime authors and subjects of their study.

Both Trumpp and Hew McLeod approach Sikh religion, history and scriptures with pre-conceived notions and an ingrained bias and prejudice. They are both consciously

guided by cheap and shallow motives inspired by their missionary zeal. Both have tried to prove that there is no original thought, no original and deep ethics or philosophy, and no original and unique mystical experience in the life and hymns of the Sikh Prophets. Yet both of them do not give a single factual truth about Sikh history, philosophy or scriptures.

While Ernest Trumpp gives a higher place to Guru Nanak than medieval saints like Kabir, Ravidas and Namdev and considers Guru Nanak, the Founder of the Sikh Religion, and even accepts his inner *Call* by Gpd when he disappeared in a river flowing near Sultan pur Lodhi, Hew McLeod concentrates all his energy, ingenuity and skill in distortions and misinterpretation of glaring facts to prove that Guru Nanak was not a prophet in any sense of the word. He unsuccessfully tries to prove by shifting sophism and quibbling subterfuge that Guru Nanak and his nine successors were in no way different from other medieval saints and Guru Nanak's successors, one by one departed from his original teachings. To argue his points he resorts to unsubstantiated statements which are not only manifestly false, but calculated and well constructed lies and fabrications. In this book a number of chapters have been devoted to expose these false constructions and nail all his lies and fabrications one by one.

Throughout his books Hew McLeod never defines the word "prophet", though he emphatically denies this status' to Guru Nanak. I wonder if like many other missionary writers he considers Muhammed, Buddha Zoroaster proph-ets, or has he and his group reserved this word only for Christ. He never defines or names any prophet.

Both Ernest Trumpp and Hew McLeod surpass each other in their arrogance and false vanity of their intellectual and religious superiority. Considering Sikh ism to be quite an inferior religion and Sikhs an inferior people, both of them indulge in scornful condemnation of everything that is historically important and philosophically precious to the Sikhs. In every chapter they spill their

undiscriminating contempt for well-established Sikh historical truths and doctrines. They have tried to ridicule and distort all well-established Sikh social, cultural and political ideals which have given strength and cohesion to Sikh faith and Society throughout their history.

Both dismiss the irrefutable truths of Sikh religion and history as views of the orthodox Sikhs. They present their utterly false assumptions and conjectures as scientific history and rational academic portrayal of a religion other than their own, a religion for which they show no human sympathy and respect. They present their unfounded concoctions as rational academic theories with impunity hop-ing to win laurels and admiration from other like-minded Christian missionaries or ignorant western readers. But there has never been a dearth of truth loving Christian scholars in the nineteenth century who exposed Ernest Trumpp mercilessly and there is no dearth of serious and sincere scholars of religion today who will in due course expose threadbare all the concoctions, conjectures and assumptions of Hew McLeod and his narrow-minded group.

Both Trumpp and McLeod write about Sikhs and Sikhism as if the votaries of this faith were primitive people and their learned works would be beyond the comprehension and ability of the Sikhs. All they had to do was to pick up a few loyalists and personal admirers out of selfish and greedy Sikh intellectuals who were willing to win their praise as more civilized and learned than the rest. Among the agnostic, Marxist, atheistic and hedonistic intellectuals there was no difficulty of finding such sychophants. The Delhi Rulers have installed many such shallow intellectuals even in departments of Sikh Studies and Punjabi literature in our Universities.

Hew McLeod and his Batala-Berkley group of hostile critics of Sikhism have been holding Seminars in Berkley Toronto and other places where the genuine scholars of Sikhism are always kept absent. One or two ignorant and ill-informed intellectuals who have no doubt distinguished themselves in some field of learning other than Sikh reli-

gion and philosophy are invited. These ignorant intellectuals turn a blind eye to the insult and abuse heaped on Sikhism by this group, but other orientalists present there, feel confused and bewildered. Some have the courage to reject these views. They go on publishing these hostile and semi-critical outputs of these seminars thinking that four-teen million Sikhs all over the world either have no scholars so clever and learned as Hew McLeod and his group or they are so absorbed in professional pursuits and material interests that they are by and large intellectually blind and morally and spiritually deaf. This, however, is not the situation. Stormy reactions to their onslaught everywhere is the first evidence.

Ernest Trumpp had read Cunningham's *History of the Sikhs* and some other British scholars who wrote about the Sikhs with sympathy and understanding. Trumpp gives in a remote corner a stray reference to Cunningham but he does not refer to any authentic findings of the eminent historian whose work received high praise even from his critics and political enemies.

Hew McLeod similarly gives a lengthy bibliography of works on Sikhism, which the reader feels he must have read and used. The majority of these books refute everything Hew McLeod has written. But he never refers to any of these books directly or indirectly. He never quotes them either in support of what he writes nor does he refute the findings of these scholars. Thus Trumpp's methodology and style of presenting his distorted material resembles that of McLeod or vice versa. Thus both Trumpp and McLeod ignore referring to authentic scholars of their own period for quite obvious reasons.

"Christian missionary critics of oriental religions are frightened if they find some doctrines in other religions which are not found in their own religion. They are even more shocked and shaken when other religions ignore or reject some doctrines of Christianity." These points of difference evoke the same reactions against Sikhism in Ernest Trumpp and Hew McLeod.

The German scholar Ernest Trumpp is a more seasoned thinker on Western philosophy and he tries to discuss some problems seriously but he finds it difficult to place Sikhism in any of the “isms” like Deism, Monotheism of his days. He also finds some Sikh doctrines repulsive to his Christian missionary sentiments. Hew McLeod whose philosophic reflections on the thoughts and philosophy of Guru Nanak are quite superficial, literally follows Ernest Trumpp in emphasizing on the doctrines of *Nam Dan* and *Ishnan*, Name, Charity and Ablution and some other doctrines which he has not cared to find in Sikh Scriptures. Hew McLeod has virtually lifted them from Trumpp’s Introduction to *Adi Granth* and put them in two of his books. He never goes beyond what Trumpp stated a century earlier.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. G.R. Thursby, *Hindu Muslim Relations in British India*, London, 1973, deals with Arya Samaj literature against the Prophet.
2. I stayed in Nabha and Patiala from 1947-49 and was often guest of Bhai Bhagwant Singh Hari, the learned son of Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha. I used his library and worked with him on rare and old codices of *Dasm Granth*. He had, started working on the Index of *Dasm Granth* now published by Punjabi University and I was work-ing on the text of older codices *Dasm Granth*. Bhai Bhagwant Singh personally knew Maharaja Hira Singh and gave me details of how “Ham Hindu Nahi” came to be written.
3. Kahan Singh, *Ham Hindu Nah* has gone into many editions and was instrumental in totally beating back the onslaught of Hindu Pundits in Sikh States and the Sikh masses in Punjab.
4. Introductions of these authors to their work reveal that their in formers were Hindu Pundits who on the one hand claimed to know all about Sikh history, but never hesitated to conceal their hatred for Sikhs and their Scriptures. The misinformation they provided reveals the depth of their hatred and malice.
- 5 (a) About the role of Niranjaniyas, Prof. N.K. Sinha writes: “Jandiala was the stronghold of the Niranjania sect. They were the most persistent enemies of the Sikhs and the most steadfast friends of the Durrani, although the original leader of this sect was a very devoted Sikh in the days of

Guru Amardas. In their struggle for independence the Sikhs suffered much molestation because of these people, whose one aim was to ingratiate themselves into the favour of Durrani. They would even point out the Sikh boys and women hiding in corn fields, so that the Durrani might drag them out and kill them. To enumerate only a few most important cases, it was on the information of a Niranjani that a very prominent Sikh, Sukha Singh was arrested in 1753; it was a Naranjani, Harmukh Das, who supplied information leading to the arrest of Taru Singh in 1746; it was a Niranjani who had supplied information leading to the persecution of the family of a prominent Sikh, Mehtab Singh in 1940".

N.K. Sinha, *Rise of the Sikh Power*, p. 33-34

- (b) Sardar Patel, and subsequently Mrs. Indira Gandhi not only patronized Sant Nirankaris and gave them V.I.P. treatment but they pitted them against the Sikhs and Mrs Indira Gandhi openly helped them in armed attacks on Sikhs in Amritsar, Delhi, Kanpur and other places, leading to militant reactions, followed by Blue Star Operation, State-terrorism and persecution.
- 6. Geoffrey Parrinder, *Comparative Religion*, London, 1960, p. 12. 7. Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Sufism*, p. 393.

CHAPTER 16

**HEW McLEOD GROUP OF CHRISTIAN CRITICS AND
EMINENT CHRISTIAN ADMIRERS OF SIKHISM**

They approach non-Christian religions like an enemy who want to destroy that which they regard as the highest and best and the result is that they only gain converts of the lowest type who become converted solely for the sake of worldly advantages, and are a disgrace to the religion to which they are affiliated.

Dr Paul Carus:

Buddhism and its Christian Critics, p. 241

Soren Kierkegaard, the eminent Danish religious philosopher said, “Life can only be understood backwards, but it must be lived forward.” We Sikhs firmly believe that our past is not behind us. It is with us and within us. Our despotic rulers, our mindless oppressors, our open political and cultural enemies believe that we are a tiny insignificant minority. The Delhi Rulers with mighty police and military power behind them and criminalized party drum-beater to follow them can attack and even try to eliminate with impunity the religion, the shrines, the free-dom and culture of the Sikhs just as Hitler attacked the Jews. But Sikh history has revealed to the world, that the greater and sharper the provocation to their faith, culture and political existence the stronger and sweepingly revolutionary has been their reactions and counter-attack at all levels.

The Sikh people know better than any other ethnic minority in the world how to fight for the preservation of their faith and ideals and relentlessly resist tyranny and despotism

till the enemy is annihilated. In every Sikh temple big or small all over the world the Sikh congregations stand with folded hands before the *Guru Granth* : the Throne of the Divine Word, and offer the following prayer;

Lord, give to the Sikhs,
 the gift of Charity.
 the gift of sanctity of our Person.
 the gift of moral and spiritual discipline,
 the gift of tolerance and trust,
 the supreme gift of His divine Name,
 the gift of ambrosial ablution,
 and a glimpse of the Holy City of Amritsar.
 May the Abiding centres of Khalsa legions,
 And the Khalsa flag of freedom and justice,
 Ever remain upheld from age to age.
 May victory ever be of *Dharma*. Righteousness
 Say Khalsa ji : *Vah-Guru, Vah-Guru*
 Wondrous is the Eternal Lord
 Congregation utters: *Vah-Guru Vah-Guru*
 Lord, grant to Thy Sikhs a humble mind,
 Grant to Thy Sikhs sublime Wisdom
 May God Himself be the Light of our thoughts.
 Lord, our true King of kings.
 Forgive us our transgression,
 Extend Thy Helping Hand to all human beings;
 Give us the company of such dear Friends,
 Meeting whom we may remember Thy Name.
 May the Spirit of Guru Nanak,
 And the holy Name of God,
 Inspire and exalt our mind and soul,
 With ever-increasing divine confidence and hope.
 Lord, may Thy Will ever prevail
 For the good and welfare of all human beings. ¹

About this congregational prayer of the Sikhs known as *Ardas* (Persian: *Arz-dasht* : Humble Supplication), Dr. C.H. Loehlin says: "As a noted Sikh historian has said, in India only the Sikhs, the Muslims and Christians are interested in human history for they have only one life to live on this earth and so wish to make the most of it. However, that may be the Sikh does have a keen sense of

its importance as bearing on the present is fostered. Jesus emphasized the working of God on this earth as the culmination of human history and mentioned the kingdom 125 times. Perhaps our emphasis should be on the kingdom as we approach the Sikhs. Surely a realm where brotherhood, justice and love predominate will appeal to those who daily pray: *“Help us to meet those beloved in whose fellowship Thy Name may come to mind. By Thy favour may there be welfare of all.”* (Ardas). Aside from some local and ritual references, a Christian would have no difficulty in following in most of this prayer, which reaches lofty heights indeed.²

Sikh religion centres around deep faith in ultimate victory of truth, human freedom and supremacy of divine Justice which does not favour any race, religion or nation. The divine majesty of God shines in the hearts and souls of all Sikhs who live in prayer and obedience to God, and remember Him in their life and work. The Sikhs are convinced that God never spares tyrants, despots and murderers of innocent humanity, no matter to which religion or country they belong. The destiny of small nations, small cultures is not controlled by the dictatorial might of a Dominant Majority, but by the Almighty Lord who protects and bestows moral and spiritual strength to God-fearing people of even small Nations and numerically small but dynamic Minorities.

From 1984 to the moment of writing this chapter in September, 1992 the Sikhs in Punjab and many other places in India have suffered ruthless tyranny and despotism of the type they suffered in eighteenth century. This tyranny can be aptly described in the words of Dostoevsky who describes these State torturers and killers thus: “There are people who are like tigers thirsty for blood. Anyone who has once experienced this power, this unlimited mastery of the body, blood and soul of a fellowman made of the same clay himself, a brother in the love of Christ - anyone who has experienced the power and full licence to inflict the greatest humiliation upon another creation

made in the image of God, will unconsciously lose the mastery of his own sensations. Tyranny is a habit; it may develop, “and it does develop at last; into a disease. I maintain that the very best of men may be coarsened and hardened into a brute habit. Blood and power intoxicate; coarseness and depravity are developed; the mind and the heart are tolerant of the most abnormal things; till at last they come to relish them. The man and the citizen is lost for ever to the tyrant, and return to human dignity, to repentance and regeneration becomes almost impossible. Moreover, the example, the possibility of such depotism, has perverting influence on the whole society; such power is temptation.”³

Delhi Rulers who were in power in 1984 are again in power. They are mortally ashamed to return to human dignity, to repentance and regeneration because Sikhs are still Sikhs, a tiny minority and they have started their fierce traditional resistance. So despotism, subtle and brute must be intensified. Punjab is victim of this logic of State terrorism and unrelenting despotism.

This despotic rule out to liquidate the Sikhs, and other helpless minorities depends for its survival on surrogate in intellectuals, hireling politicians and journalists who are well paid to run down their own people, their own state and their own faith. Chesterton defines such despotism as a “tired and exhausted democracy. Sychophants, greedy politicians, writers fall in love with repression and misrule of highly despotic government, and offer their conscience, their services for all self-humiliating tasks of condemning their own people and bringing misery and bloodshed to the very soil of the State in which they live.”

Today there is no dearth of such intellectuals, politicians and journalists who have placed their conscience, their talent to serve the interests of anti-Punjab and anti-Sikh Delhi Rulers in exchange for being projected as intellectual giants in State organized functions, free-travelling abroad to blackmail their own people in subtle and crude manner.

Tacitus pin-points “two types of such scholars and historians in whose hands Truth suffers in more ways than one. Those who were inspired by a passion for flattery of the Rulers in power, and the other inspired by hatred and malice. One is bitterly alienated and the other is bitterly committed to hatred.” But says Tacitus “whereas the reader can easily discount the bias of time-serving historians, but detraction and spite find ready audience. Adulations bears the ugly taint of subversience, but malice gives the false impression of being independent.”⁴ To the first category belong our hired intellectuals to bureaucracy and to the second some popular journalists and academics presenting angular works in our universities.

Referring to these two forces, Justice Gurdev Singh who was the first to publish a book disposing the malicious distortions of Hew McLeod writes: “Some of our University professors under some temptations, greed or some other motives, have done irreparable damage to some well-established historical truths. He (McLeod) has been emboldened by the fact that in our universities even the scholars who are working in the Department of Sikh Studies have not cared to rebut or even examine his thesis and to place before the people the correct picture and real facts. The neglect has already resulted in considerable harm as even uncommitted scholars and without examination of the issues involved are prone to accept themselves, or availability of the other point of view.”⁵

While the tyranny and despotism of Delhi Rulers has been thoroughly exposed by a number of Human Right Groups and Independent observers, and Amnesty International, the truth of the situation in Punjab and plight of the Sikhs in Delhi has proved to be less than a voice in the wilderness and the Delhi Rulers are deaf and dumb to it. They are trying to hide the truth by new State propagated denials and lies. But for how long can they do that?⁶

Hew McLeod Group continues its game of denigrating the spiritual status of Guru Nanak as a prophet, and propagating without giving evidence that Sikhism relapsed

into Hinduism by accepting caste system and adding its own sects to countless Hindu sects. We have written many chapters on various distortions presented by Hew McLeod and his Group but before we close the last chapter we would like to explain what sects and castes really mean and reveal the truth about their existence in Sikhism.

SECTS IN PROTESTISM AND SIKHISM

Sects are generally breakaway institutional ecclesiastical bodies having their own religious ideals and principles. Thus there are 72 sects in Islam each having distinct organization. Protestant leaders like Luther (1483-1546) were contemporaries of Guru Nanak. Luther an ex-communicated Catholic monk married an excommunicated nun and formed a new Church. Will Durant in his *Mansions of Philosophy* writes "Protestantism is doomed. Look at its decay, it has broken into ten thousand fragments, little obstinate groups, each hugging its heresy till it becomes an immovable orthodoxy, each hating and despising 9,999 other varieties of Protestant. Here is a clipping from the New York Sun for November 1, 1928; it speaks of Protestantism in the United States.

"Apparently there are five groups of Adventists, eighteen groups of Baptists, five groups of Brethren and German Baptists, six groups of Plymouth Brethren, three groups of United Brethren, six groups of the Eastern Orthodox Church, eleven evangelistic associations, four groups of Friends, twenty - three groups of Lutherans, seventeen groups of Minnionites, nineteen groups of Methodists, nine groups of Presbyterians, four groups of Re-formed Church and various other classifications from one to three groups each. There are e.g. General Six Principle Baptists, Free Will Baptists, Regular Baptists, Primitive Baptists, Two-Seed-in-the Spirit Predistinarian Baptists, and Seventh Day Baptists; Primitive methodists, Congregational Methodists, Holiness Methodists and Reformed Methodists."

These are real sects of the Protestant Church to

which Hew McLeod and his group belong. Sikhism has a few missionary groups which have maintained their his-toric identity. They are not sects. Their followers call them-selves Sikhs of the Ten Gurus. There are breakaway ex-communicated groups which have either melted away or have merged in the Sikh Panth or have bare existence in one or two *ashrams*. They do not call themselves Sikhs. They cannot be included in the Sikh fold by any stretch of imagination.

CASTE IN HINDUISM AND PROFESSIONAL CLASSES AMONGST SIKHS

Scholars like Hew McLeod who have not cared to study what Hindu caste system is wrongly describe professional classes like carpenters, goldsmiths and jats as different castes.

The eminent scholar Romesh Chander Dutt tells us in his well researched book “*Civilization in Ancient In-dia*”, that Yajnavalkya looked npon a large number of pro-fessions as impure, so much that the food cooked by people of these professions cannot be touched by the pure. At this point Romesh Dutt proceeds:

“It is with pain that the historian of the Hindus finds in this passage all mechanical arts, trades, industries classed with prostitution and crime. For the list indicates, misers, men of letters, thieves, actors, eunuchs, workers in the leather, men who are cursed, Vardushis, prostitutes, men who initiate indiscriminately, physicians, diseased men, outcastes, *Vratyas*, impure eaters, drinkers of wine, goldsmiths. How many honest trades do we find in this list of dispossessed professions. The results were disasterous, so far as the sects were concerned. Genius was impossible except in kings and priests. Men held in perpetual moral bondage and servitude never learnt to aspire after greatness and glory. Men to whom honour was impossible never learnt to deserve honour and dis-tinction.”⁸

Many eminent scholars of Hinduism have tried to rationalize caste-system. Professor A.R. Wadia whom I had

the privilege to meet at a conference in Shantiniketan, comments on Dr Radhakrishnan's thesis of rationalizing caste system in his books saying "This implies a plain recognition of the unfortunate fact that in the hierarchy of caste in India, the *shudras* do occupy an inferior position. Nor can this inferiority be glossed over by glibly speaking of "the dignity of labour." The truth is that in the orthodox Hindu economy this dignity of labour is not recognized. In fact, all honest labour, although used to the fullest extent, is looked down upon with more or less open contempt. In the *Gita*, which is an attempt to break down the inequalities of caste, Krishna himself classes women and shudras together, but promises that even they can take refuge in Him. This attitude of the higher castes is all the more perplexing when we remember that this caste (Shudra) includes all the basic vocation which alone can guarantee the maintenance of a healthy society, for it includes farmers, peasants, weavers, potters, masons, car-penters and a whole army of the most useful hardworking and honest workers."

Warish Shah's classic *Hir Ranjha* tells us that Jits who are presented as an upper class these days were considered a menial class (*kamin*) among Muslims and *Shudras* among Hindus. In Sikh history all the leading Misal Leaders came from these Shudra castes: They were Kalals, carpenters, peasant (Jats), Sansi tribals and Dalits. Sikhism thus completely reversed the Hindu Social order dominated by Brahmanism.

HEW MCLEOD'S BID TO WIPE THE SLATE OF SIKH HISTORY CLEAN

Commenting on eighteenth and nineteenth century historians Leo Moulin writes. "The effort is made *to wipe the slate clean of the past*. It is not realized that however obsolete the social fabric may be, it is impossible, even at the price of the most terrible sufferings and the most bloody conflicts, to wipe the slate completely clean. This was really brought home

to mankind by 1789, and by 1917 as well.¹⁰

In the same vein and in the same contemptuous and arrogant idiom, Hew McLeod writes, "*There are compulsive reasons for scepticism: the tradition relating to the period of Guru Gobind Singh-must be, in considerable measure set aside. The slate must be wiped clean and must not be re-inscribed.*" Guru Gobind Singh is the first prophet who has left to posterity his Autobiography (even though brief from 1666-1694). His contemporary poets and disciples, his own and his father's letters, have much more authentic biographical material than we have about Christ, Buddha, Muhammed and other prophets in history.

Yet this Christian missionary scholar calling himself a scientific historian thinks that he can easily wipe the slate of authentic events of Guru Gobind Singh's life, and destroy his biographical facts with a stroke of his pen. The compulsive reasons which tempt him to do so with impunity are obviously two or perhaps three: The first reason is his ingrained scepticism and determined stand not to accept even the irrefutable historical facts of a religion other than his own. The second reason obviously is that he firmly believes that there is so widespread ignorance about Sikhs and Sikhism abroad that in a world where the blind are leading the blind in politics, history, religion, economic and cultural problems, he, with the backing of such an organized Christian missionary Group was bound to succeed. He has found a few supporters amongst turbaned and bearded agnostics, atheists, positivists, materialists and hedonists, and of course a handful of *janus-headed* sychophants in our Universities (Punjabi and Guru Nanak Dev Universities). He has paid them left-handed compliment for their dubious scholarship, and they have extended him departmental patronage over which some of them now repent. But this class of his supporters is a vanishing and dying tribe, because the truth of Sikh history and doctrines can neither be compromised, nor distorted, nor wiped out which is the professed aim of Hew McLeod and his clearly identified group.

Even non-Sikh historians and scholars like Dr Hari Ram Gupta, Dr Indu Bhushan Banerjee, Dr A.C. Banerjee and the Roman Catholic scholar Duncan Greenlees have built such monumental and unshakable edifices of Sikh history and Religion, that Hew McLeod and his Group's nefarious designs cannot go beyond the damage they have already done. Those Western scholars who have consciously and uncritically accepted some statements of Hew McLeod as genuine and honest critical evaluation which the Sikhs always welcome, will feel ashamed of having done so in the years to come just as Indian Communists are now feeling ashamed of accepting the works of Stalinist Russia as gospel truth. No one in Delhi these days buys this literature of Marxist geniuses of Russia even for two rupees a kilogram as waste paper.

During my travels abroad and prolonged stay in U.K. and U.S.A. I did not find a single Christian, Muslim or Jew Scholar whose attitude was even remotely so disgracefully malicious and dishonourable as that of Hew McLeod Group of Berkeley and Toronto which still persists. In the Seminars, Interfaith-Conferences, World-Faith organizations gatherings which I had the opportunity to attend, and in a number of leading Universities where I had the opportunity to deliver lectures and participate in discussions, all the scholars, participants and students I met had profound respect for Sikhism coupled with a sincere thirst to know more about it.

If there is so much ignorance about Sikhism in U.K., U.S.A. and Canada, it is because the Sikh religious and intellectual leadership in these countries has built over three hundred costly temples and collect millions of pounds and dollars as offerings every month, but they have not built one good library, and they have not produced two well-researched books on Sikh history and doctrines. Of course, they produce considerable propaganda pamphlets, which are either hack work or trash. Their income exceeds the budget of Bible Societies, but the management groups of these temples spend all the money

in promoting themselves and enriching their own assets in novel concept and shameful manner.

In India also, particularly in Bengal and South India, there is tremendous zeal to know and work on Sikh history and religion, among scholars of religion and philosophy and they are eager to devote the best of their talent and wisdom in understanding Sikhism and giving expression to it in their own languages.

A MEETING WITH PROF. ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE
AND HIS VIEWS ON SIKHS AND SIKHISM

In the late fifties I came to know that Professor Arnold J. Toynbee was coming to Delhi. I requested my friend Swami Ranganathananda, the present Vice-President of Ramakrishna Mission to fix up my appointment with Prof. Toynbee. He was then Head of the Delhi Ashram of Ramakrishna Mission where I had delivered a series of lectures on Sikhism. He was kind enough to be my guest at Ludhiana twice earlier. Swami Ranganathananda fixed my appointment with Prof. Toynbee in the Mission Ashram an hour and half before he was to lecture in the Mission Auditorium.

It was indeed a moment of great joy and privilege to *meet* the greatest living historian, the last four volumes of whose *Study of History* had particularly impressed me. His tremendous intellectual energy, his unflagging labour of twenty-seven years, his treatment of wars, revolutions, political upheavels, stateformations, with remarkable flashes of insight were simply amazing, though they differed in patterns of analysis from Spengler's "*Decline of the West*". Toynbee's profusion of vastly learned examples, his hatred of regimentations and totalitarian systems, his lamentation of man's increasing defeatism and submission to authority, and his dream of the unity of mankind in the love of God are fascinating.

Professor Arnold Toynbee was tall, well-built, an in-tellectual Aristocrat with Aristotlian face, graceful, soft-spoken, gentle and extremely polite. From tip to toe he

was a philosopher historian, with incredible versatility. He was accompanied by his wife, who was short in stature, with a quiet contemplative face like that of nun who had spent years concentrating on her work within a monastery. She had, as Professor Toynbee told me, while introducing her, worked in the Institute of International *M-fairs*, London, along with him for thirtyfour years, where he worked for thirty-three years.

I wanted to ask Professor Toynbee three questions which have always been uppermost in my mind. But before I could ask the learned historian any question he opened the dialogue asking me a loaded question. “Have not the Indian leaders learnt anything from their past history”? he asked and added, “While Indian leaders are talking of the Age of Ashoka and *Panch Shil*, Communist China under Mao-Tse Tung is arming itself to the teeth. Have the Indian leaders, particularly Prime Minister Nehru never thought that China may at any time invade from the North, occupy Tibet, Ladakh and Sikkim? What will India do then? This prophetic vision of Professor Toynbee sent a shock wave through my whole system. My only answer was: “If anyone passes this hypothetical question as a possibility to Prime Minister Nehru, he will dismiss it as “Rubbish and impossible.” He is not even prepared to think of this probability. But if Communist China does occupy Tibet, the Himalayan range which shelters the most peace-loving people in the world, the Tibetans will be shaken from the roots. China may then invade Burma, join hands with Pakistan and all these forces may cut India to pieces, a process of Balkanization of this sub-continent be the end result.” Unfortunately I added, “Mr Nehru is multiplying his troubles in domestic policies, encouraging corruption and nepotism and turning a deaf ear to the sane advice and political suggestions of Sage-politicians like C. Rajagopalacharia. Mr Nehru is in the bad Company of sychophants, fawning flatterers and surrogate intellectuals.” “Very sad, indeed”, said Professor Toynbee.

Fearing that Professor Toynbee might raise some more such serious questions I put my three questions and got considerably detailed answer. But here I will state the questions and answers briefly:

Q. What according to your historical perceptions is the future of European civilization in the face of confrontation between Christian Europe and Soviet Union? What will be the outcome if this class struggle changes into Third World War?

A. Communist Regimes will meet the fate of Fascist regime but if there is a third world war the destruction of Europe, America and England will be on unprecedented scale.

Q. What in your opinion will be the fate of the Islamic Middle East and Israel in case of such an eventual-ity?

A. If the European countries throw their weight on the side of Arabs, Israel may be wiped out. But if the European and American countries back Israel, Arab States will be the worst sufferers and Israel may emerge stronger (Prof. Toynbee was not favourably-inclined towards Judaism or Israel).

Q. What do you think is the fate of these Asian countries particularly Indian sub-continent who talk loudly about democracy but are all moving towards oppressive dictatorships?

A. Only those Asian countries will enjoy peace and prosperity which maintain democracy and Rule of Law. All those Asian countries which move towards dictatorship and militarism will end up in total collapse and unimaginable poverty. (Professor Toynbee gave detailed and strongly worded replies in his usual inimitable style). It was at this juncture Prof. Toynbee told me that his present tour was exclusively Asian tour and he was studying the historic background of various Asian regions. I asked him whether he had seen any historic Sikh shrine in Delhi and whether he would be going to Punjab to see the Golden Temple?

For a moment Professor Toynbee was taken aback. He said he had not been shown any historical Sikh shrine, although he had visited some Hindu and Jain temples and in another two days he was flying to Lahore. Even Punjab had been excluded *from* his itinerary.

Soon the British High Commissioner and Mr. William Jones, the Deputy Director of British Council arrived. Professor Toynbee expressed his anxiety to go to Amritsar and see the Golden Temple and asked them to get necessary permission of the Government, if necessary. The British High Commissioner promptly answered, "No permission was necessary. We will cancel your flight to Lahore and arrange your visit to Amritsar by road where *you* can stay *for* the day and night and *from* there *you* can board the International train to Lahore." I felt greatly relieved and Professor Toynbee was very happy."

We went to the Ramakrishnan Mission Auditorium where a learned audience was waiting in awe-inspiring si-lence. Professor Toynbee seated me by his side, Swami Ranganathananda presided over the lecture. Half the lecture loaded with countless references *from* past civilizations, flew over the heads of the audience. But Swami Ranganathananda's summary was so precise, illuminating and correct that Professor Toynbee's nodded assent as every time Swamiji explained a point and he thus expressed great delight. I told Prof. Toynbee that Swami Ranganathananda was the most brilliant orator and scholar in the country. The parting words of Prof. Toynbee were, "If I come to India again I will go to your village in Jullundur district in a bullock cart. I am fascinated by rural India. Rural Punjab must be very beautiful. I will see a bit of it." Professor Toynbee was fascinated by Andhra Pradesh's bullock carts: In his book *East to West* which Toynbee wrote subsequently, he says:

"Amritsar is a creation of the Sikh religion. The Golden Temple was planted in the wilds, and a secular city grew up around it. But till the deadly partition in 1947 a Sikh who lived in Amritsar never dreamed that he

might be debarred from carrying on his profession in Lahore, while a Muslim, who lived in Lahore never dreamed that he might be debarred from owning and cultivating a field in the district of Amritsar. Lahore was Sikhs' and Muslims' common capital. The broad Panjab countryside was the common source of livelihood."

"Why has the rankling memory of an ancient feud compelled these once intermingled communities to sort themselves out at such a dreadful cost to both of them? The fate that they have brought on themselves seems ironic to the foreign inquirer who feels sympathy for both alike; for, as it appears to the outsider, the Sikh faith and Islam have close affinity with one another. The atmosphere of Amritsar strikes a Western observer as being decidedly Islamic, and indeed, almost Protestant. Hindu worship is a casual disorderly affair. Sikh worship is precise and as highly disciplined as the proceedings in a mosque or a Calvinist Church. The Granth Sahib which is the Sikh Khalsa holy scripture is an anthology in which selections from the works of Kabir and other Muslim mystics find a place besides the works of Guru Nanak, the father of the Sikh faith. And the veneration paid to the Granth Sahib goes beyond the furthest extremes of Protestant Christian bibliolatory. Why could not Sikhs and Muslims - and *for that matter*, Hindus as well - go on living side by side in an unpartitioned Punjab? The perversity of human nature is the greatest of the mysteries of human life."¹¹

"Amritsar has a surer *future*, *for* it will remain the religious centre of the Sikh faith so long as the Khalsa endures, and the Sikhs, in losing the Punjab, have gained the world. Today they are established all over the world. And they have not kept within India's frontiers. They have made their way eastwards through Burma and Singapore and Hong Kong to the Pacific slope of Canada. They are the loveliest men on the face of the planet-tough, capable and slightly grim. *If human life survives the present Chapter of Man's history, the Sikhs, for sure, will still be on the map*".¹²

British scholars have taken very sympathetic and keen interest in Sikhism. A number of books have appeared in the British Press. In America there is such a widespread ignorance about Sikhs and Sikhism that under the nefarious influence of Hew McLeod Group it has not been recognized by the American Academy of Religion (AAR) with its Asian Cell in Berkley University. I will briefly discuss two British scholars whose works have been read with keen interest in the Sikh intellectual world. They are Dr. W. Owen Cole and Dr Christopher Shackle. Learned essay and comments on Sikhism by eminent scholars like Professor Geoffrey Parrinder, Dr Ursula King, Dr Terry Thomas indicate the sincerity and depth of interest in Sikhism in Britain. This interest will certainly take an upward turn for learned expositions when the Sikh Institutions in England give organized financial and moral support to British scholars studying the Philosophy of Religion and History. Only then will the Sikhs be properly understood in Britain; and no amount of disinformation of the type let loose all over the world by Delhi Rulers will mislead the people and scholars of European countries.

Co-operation and dialogue amongst Sikh and British scholars is already at its best. Only the anti-Sikh atmosphere created in India and abroad since 1980 is the biggest artificially created barrier. This barrier will sooner or later fall.

W. OWEN COLE

Dr. W. Owen Cole's first book *The Sikhs: Their Religious Brief and Practices* written in collaboration with his friend Piara Singh Saimbhi appeared in 1978. It is a read-able condensed and appropriate study of the Sikh Beliefs and Practices based on an objective study of all the secondary sources available to them. The contradictions in these secondary sources, mostly recent publications have been resolved in a very scholarly manner. His second book *The Guru in Sikhism* is an M. Phil thesis of about 100 pages prepared under the guidance of the eminent scholar

of Dr. Ursula King. Owen Cole explains all aspects of the Guru briefly except the mystical aspect, which no doubt is presented in a number of hymns of *Guru Granth* which he has quoted. However, it conveys to the Western reader the generally correct status of the Guru in Sikhism. Western scholars sometime coin terms which only turn the readers' mind against the essence of a religion.

Instead of the words sacred and worldly they have coined the word Sacred and Profane. The very word pr-fane takes them to the blind-alley of dark and lower passions. They have similarly described the Christ or Nanak of history and Christ and Nanak of Faith. The Inner Mystical and Moral personality of Guru Nanak is reflected in all historical even ts of his life and his works which reveal his mind, heart and soul. Whether a person has faith in him or not, his personality does not change. Christ and Nanak of Faith is generally dismissed as a myth or based on the whims of the believers. There is no such thing as Beethoven of history and Beethoven of faith. There is only one Beethoven and his history without his musical genius is worth nothing.

Owen Cole's third book: *Sikhism in Its Indian Context* is also an excellent analytical study. Its basic short coming is that he has leaned heavily on Hew McLeod's fallacious theories and statements about *janamsakhis* and Sikhism. He notices here and there Hew McLeod's hostile attitude, and also uses his pet terminology, but we Sikhs are to be blamed for this for not giving to Western readers authentic translation of authentic *janamsakhis* and inform the Western scholar that there are hundreds of other original sources of the history of Guru-period besides the *janamsakhis*, respeatedly distorted and misinter-preted by Hew McLeod. Owen Cole's latest book is "*A Popular Dictionary of Sikhism*. If a foreigner goes to a Sikh congregation or societies he hears commonly used words which need explanation to the uninitiated. This small book of 160 pages serves as a popular reference book to these terms which are at times historical names

and places but at times popular religious and doctrinal terms. The authors give popular meanings of these terms and the interpretation is basically correct.

I know Dr Owen Cole personally as a friend and scholar. He is a very sincere and studious scholar of Sikhism. He may be misguided by the sources of his information which he meticulously quotes, as he obviously does in his acceptance of Hew McLeod's view on *Janamsakhis* and some misreported facts on Sikh history and doctrines, but he is an absolutely unbiased and unprejudiced scholar who is a keen and discerning student of Sikhism. Behind all his books, essays and lectures on Sikhism, we find a scholar of superb integrity and wisdom in search of truth about Sikh history and doctrines. We expect much more from this studious, judicious and sincere exponent of Sikh history and doctrines.

DR CHRISTOPHER SHACKLE

Dr. Christopher Shackle is an outstanding scholar of Punjabi literature, and the method he has evolved of teaching even to the beginners from the texts of *Gurbani* and classical prose resembles the traditional methods and it at once introduces a student of Punjabi to Sikh Scriptures. This method should have been introduced in our schools and colleges and the Textbook he has prepared is the most commendable work: *An Introduction to the Sacred Language of the Sikhs*.¹³ This method prepares a foreigner or a non-Sikh Indian to the language of *Guru Granth*.

The most important contribution of Dr Shackle is "A *Guru Nanak Glossary* (276 pages)¹⁴. He is correct when he says in the Preface: "*Quite apart from their great literary and linguistic interest, the hymns of Guru Nanak have a very special importance as the sole authentic record of the teachings of the Founder of the Sikh religion. So his compositions continue to have a living spiritual significance in itself the principal justification for the production of the glossary.*"¹⁵

It is much more than a Glossary, and falls a little short of a full-fledged dictionary because it does not give

the philosophic mystical interpretations of these words. Dr Shackle is quite competent to produce one. It can, however, be called the Linguistic Dictionary of Guru Nanak's hymns. It gives remarkable insight into the linguistic origins, derivations of many words, so correctly that we do not find it in other dictionaries in Punjabi.

Dr Shackle's depth of knowledge of the linguistic treasures of *Guru Granth* are further revealed in some of his research papers. Dr Shackle is an undisputed authority on Lehandi also called *Saraiki* in South-western Punjabi. His three learned essays on the language of *Adi Granth* are landmarks in the linguistic study of *Adi Granth*: such as "*South-Western Elements in the Language of the Adi Granth; Approaches to the Persian loans in the Adi Granth; The Sahisakriti Poetic Idiom in the Adi Granth.*"¹⁶ Our three Uni-versities in Punjab have Linguistic departments, *Guru Granth* Departments and extensive 'Sikh Studies Departments.' But none of them have produced such a deep, profound study of the Languages, poetic analysis of *Guru Granth* as Dr Shackle has done. I hope he will carry on these studies to produce a learned work on the various Linguistic Aspects of *Guru Granth*.

Dr Christopher Shackle also happens to be the first to share the agony of the Sikhs by writing a Report on "*The Sikhs*" for the 'Minority Rights Group', winner of the 1982 United Nations Association Media Peace Prize. The historical events of the past are historically authentic and correct, but he has leaned heavily on the news given out by the Indian Government during the period. The Blue Star sacriligious attack was carried on not only in the Golden Temple, Amritsar but over fifty historical shrines all over the Punjab by brutally killing hundreds of pilgrims every-where. The whitepaper of the government pub-lished the blackest lies about the military operation. Mrs Indira Gandhi in her white paper gave the number of killed as 94. Dr Shackle gives the number of persons killed as 220. The present Prime Minister who was then Home Minister has given 1000 a fortnight ago. From the

tokens of shoes left by the dead, the number of men, women and children killed was over 6000. The number of Sikh men, women and children killed in Delhi riots organised by the rulers and their party is now admitted to be over 8000 in Delhi alone. Now that the detailed re-ports are available it is hoped Dr Shackle will correct the facts of the carnage. The booklet will become historically indispensable.

AMERICAN REACTION TO HEW MCLEOD'S
HOSTILE CRITICISM OF SIKHISM

Professor Noel Q. King has closely studied Hew McLeod's books and he sums up briefly and succinctly McLeod's attitude towards Sikhs and Sikhism saying "Hew McLeod more often than not introduces utterly vulgar street gossip and cheap jokes against the Sikhs". Professor King calls them "Sardarjijokes" and rightly comments "that this is a genus of story invented by people wishing to show that the Sikhs are as stupid or obstinate as their own buffaloes."¹⁷

Professor King adds, "Whatever Dr McLeod intended, many readers will ask his books the wrong questions and get the wrong answers. The books to an uninitiated reader seems to reiterate the notion that a great amount of Sikh belief appears to be based on uncritical religiosity. The reader seeking the well-springs of what Sikhism is will not be assisted. The only successful opponents to thousands of years of passing conquerors must have something that "makes him tick". Nowhere in these books is there an attempt to tell us what it is. The reader wishing to know about the heart of Sikhism will turn to these books and be offered meticulously and exhaustively carried out drills in certain methods of western criticism. Such readers' desires and the purpose of the books differ. The reader will hardly be able to understand the true import of what is being said unless he or she possesses a background knowledge of the history of criticism."

Dr Noel King further says, "Applying his own method

of judging by the internal evidence only, it has to be objectively noted and allowed for in any appreciation of his work, that he had absolute faith in the intellectual critical method as he understands it and has passed beyond treating religious criteria on any wider or larger scale. This is not to imply on my side that reason and religion are opposed or that one takes one from another. For me they go hand in hand, but finally the intellect and its methods, as we presently know them, are not perfect nor as absolute nor infallible nor do they see things in focus or whole.”¹⁸

In his concluding remarks Dr King puts his finger on the most sensitive spots of the intellectual atmosphere that prevails in the country and lack of genuine critical scholarship. He says, “I would like to point out that I am not calling for a moratorium on critical scholarship. I have merely tried to point out the bluntness of the critical bludgeon, the need to be humble, considerate and courteous. I have asked that it be put in a context of the wholeness of the study and of the group being studied. As part of this I would ask that due place be given to the *deshi* home-grown production of critical scholarship. Imports should not prevent the development of natural products. I must equally emphasize on the other hand that Sikhism like all great religions needs critical scholarship if it is to meet the intellectual needs of its increasingly highly educated followers. Perhaps Dr McLeod’s works stand out so much in this respect because the leading scholars writing in English in the Punjab need to keep in the good books of the Establishment and therefore studiously avoid “sticking their necks out”. They as much as Dr McLeod, have produced the present situation. The young Sikh critical scholar is in no enivable position and he must be helped and encouraged soon at all costs.”¹⁹

DR JAMES R. LEWIS

I have read only two learned papers of this eminent Professor of Religion, and I have referred mainly to his

scholarly article: “*Some Unexamined Assumptions in Western Studies of Sikhism*” published in *Journal of Sikh Studies*, Vol. XIII, No. II, August 1985. This article alone convinces me that if all the source material mentioned in this book had been given to Dr James R. Lewis he would have written exactly what I have said in this book about Ernest Trumpp and Hew McLeod, and surely in much better way and forceful manner. We will briefly sup up his learned expositions.

In the key para of his essay Dr James R. Lewis says, “The focus of this paper will be on the treatment of Sikhism by current (second half of twentieth century) Western (mostly North American) scholars of religion. Their portrayals of the Sikhs are like Browne’s, not consciously prejudiced but (and again like Browne) their categories of analysis tend inevitably to, distort as much as they reveal. The categories are, as will be seen, far more subtle than Trumpp’s and Browne’s.”²⁰

I agree with every word of Dr James Lewis’ comment, but it would not be correct to call the attitude of these ‘North American scholars unconsciously prejudicial like Browne’s and Trumpp’s. Brown and Trumpp were helplessly dependent on their Brahmin advisers for all information about Sikh history. These Brahmin advisers did not conceal their ingrained contempt and hatred for the Sikhs and my detailed analysis of Trumpp’s work in Chapters I and II of this book reveals the extent of information Trumpp could have gained from Cunningham’s *History of the Sikhs*, but he avoided it because the book and the author were condemned by British Imperialists.

But these ‘North American Scholars’ have spent nearly a decade as teachers in Baring Christian College, Batala, after 1965 when Dr C.H. Loehlin, the noblest bridge-builder between Sikhs and Christians was the Principal. This is one of the reason why I call them *Batala-Berkley Missionary Group*. They had at their disposal the best equipped libraries of three Universities in Punjab which have taken over libraries of many scholars of early

twentieth century and the Sikh Reference Library, in the Golden Temple. They came into contact with almost all living scholars. I remember having met Hew McLeod at a number of seminars and conferences from 1966 onwards. The impressive bibliography given in books written by Hew McLeod shows they are in the know of works on Sikhism, which refute their themes. They never even mention or cursorily refer to our four-fifths of the books mentioned in their bibliography. In the light of these facts it would not be correct to say that “they are unconsciously prejudicial, more so when Hew McLeod arrogantly asserts “I am responsibly for my views.”

Dr James Lewis is quite correct when he says that the “works of these North American Group of Critics, have adopted such categories of analysis which tend inevitably to distort as much as they reveal.” They reveal practically nothing beyond the superficial features of Sikhism found in all Popular books on Sikhism, but they distort everything which is picked up by them for negative analysis and repugnant critical evaluation.

Dr James Lewis aptly sums up the British Imperialistic towards the Sikhs as follows:

British	Sikhs
civilized	savage
superior	inferior
intelligent	not intelligent
unprejudiced	prejudiced ²¹

He, however, analyses the psychological attitude of this North American Group in a very scholarly manner after studying their methods and motives clearly perceptible to discerning students of Sikh religion and philosophy.

In order to bring out the narrow and overtly prejudiced Christian perspectives Dr James Lewis refers to an article of Dr John C.B. Webster, one of the low-profile member of this group.²² Dr James Lewis rightly remarks: “Among western students of the Sikh religion, it has become common place to observe directly

or by implication the supposedly baneful effect of orthodoxy on “Sikh scholars studying their own tradition”. And he adds “Do non-Sikh academics really bring an objective, unprejudiced perspectives to their work? To anyone familiar with the contemporary phenomenon in such areas as hermeneutics, philosophy of science, post-structuralism etcetra; the answer to this question must be “no”.²³

We certainly notice that throughout the books and essays of this North American Group, the clear and shining Truth of Sikhism is ignored or dismissed as orthodox and hearsay stories and street-gossip comments are accepted as doctrines deserving their critical analysis. In history irrefutable facts from contemporary and near contemporary records are wilfully ignored and speculative theories based on twisted and aberrant conjectures are presented as scientific and academic analysis.

Dr James Lewis puts it thus :”In the latter part of the Twentieth Century, it has been “forcefully brought home to us that despite our best efforts to be as neutral and as objective as possible, we inevitably bring certain pre-sup-positions to the task of understanding. Thus the agenda which Sikh academics bring to their work is not inherently different (except for the fact of being more conscious and hence one could argue, less pernicious) than the various agendas of Western academics.”²⁴

CHRISTIANS PROJECT THEIR OWN SELF-CONTRADICTIONS ONTO
SIKHISM BY IMPOSING CONCEPTS OF
SYNCRETISM AND NEO SIKHS

Had the scholarly views expressed on “Syncretism and Neo-Sikhs come from a Sikh scholar these North American exponents of Sikhism and others who think like them might have dismissed them as orthodox Sikh reaction. But they are the views of a learned Christian Professor of the Philosophy and history of Religions, who has the courage and insight to see the beauty of his own religion in Sikhism and also to see the shortcoming of his own reli-

gion reflected in the criticism of Sikhism by Christian scholars under study. He severely criticizes these Western academics who project Sikhism as either an off-shoot (a sect) of Hinduism or as Syncretism of Hinduism and Islam. Even those Sikh scholars who lean more on Western opinion than on search for the truth in Sikh Scriptures and history followed them.

No religion, however, original and creative falls from the sky and remains uninfluenced by its surroundings. The Prophet of every religion has had to react to existing religions and also be influenced by them in some ways. No Muslims would accept the Koran as complete without its chapters on Moses and Christ. The New Testament could not have been given the present interpretation without leaning heavily on Old Testament ideals and history. Dr James Lewis says, “The principal objection to the appellation syncretism however is that within western religions the term was traditionally used to denounce sub-groups within the religious community who were perceived as having defiled the original revelations by grafting on foreign elements.”²⁵ But the word is used to run down Sikhism as “spurious” and not worth any serious attention. It is safely dismissed as “*off-shoot*” of Hinduism or a Hindu Sant Tradition as the “North American Academics put it.” Dr James Lewis asks: “Why then are the principal western religions never labeled “syncretistic”? Islam, for example, was shaped by Judaism, Christianity, and ancient (pre-Islamic) Arabian religion. Christianity contains elements of Judaism, Mithraism, Hellenistic religions, and who knows what all else. Surely all great world faiths have been at least partially influenced by their encounter with other religions. In what way then is Sikhism, and not other faiths, a “syncretism”.²⁶ Dr James Lewis calls this purely arbitrary distinction as structurally similar to the *civilized savage* contrast; i.e. “our religion is revealed while their religion is mere syncretism.”²⁷

Dr James Lewis criticises the misuse of another term “neo-Sikhism” used for Singh Sabha Reform Movement.

Those who have written about Singh Sabha Movement have failed to grasp that the Singh Sabha Movement only aimed at getting rid of Hindu Brahmanical ceremonies and replacing them with Sikh ceremonies of marriage, initiation and death. It did not produce any new or reformed Sikh cult or type. The orthodox and the liberals joined hands and succeeded in completely eliminating Brahmanical Hindu influences, which had crept in only during the last days of Ranjit Singh, and under Dogra influences.

Dr James Lewis informs us : ‘The only area in Christinity that comes to mind as a place where ‘neo’ is employed is when it is used to designate certain schools of theology, e.g. new orthodoxy, neo-Thomism. “Neo” gets applied to religious communities only when westerners are describing other peoples religions e.g. neo-Taoism, neo-Confuciusism, neo-Hinduism et cetra,” “One caricatures a process which one sees in other religions while repressing awareness of the fact that the saner process has ocured within one’s own religion.”²⁸ “They employ one set of criteria for evaluating western religions and another set of criteria for evaluating others. All religious communities attempt to remain faithful to the essence of their tradition while adapting to changing conditions, and such accommodation does not axiomatically imply either the end of the community or the substitution of practical concerns for religious devotions.”²⁹

GUILT-PROJECTION OF WESTERN ACADEMICS: PACIFICISM/

MILITANCY INTERPRETATION OF SIKH HISTORY

Dr James Lewis makes a very important contribution by refuting the standard observation of these Western academics on Guru Nanak’s pacificism and Guru Gobind Singh’s militancy and their attempt to misinterpret both. We have already shown in a whole chapter on the subject that Guru Nank’s writings are much more militant and sharp in social and political criticism than those of Guru Gobind Singh. But Dr James Lewis points out that even

Buddhism and Christainity were pacifist in the early period and then took up militancy to such extreme limits as not found in early history of Sikhism.

Dr. James Lewis writes, “To *the* extent that the au-*thor* is Christian or at least from a Christian background, it might be possible to postulate that a kind of “guilt-projection” is at work here. In other words, if one is uncomfortable with the tensions/contradiction between theory and practice in the Christian religion, but refuses to face the issue squarely (and thus partially represses it) then one is likely to project that contradiction onto other traditions. Thus the discomfort which is felt about Christainity’s self-contradiction gets displaced onto an object which had nothing to do with the original problem.”³⁰

THE BRIDGE WHICH DR C.H. LOEHLIN BUILT BETWEEN CHRISTIANITY AND SIKHISM

With nearly half a century of concentrated labour Dr C.H. Loehlin not only understood Punjab, Punjabi culture, Sikhs and Sikhism but he built a bridge between Sikhs and Christians by presenting a reverential and correct study of Sikhism, little knowing that the new breed of Christian Missionaries that had entered Baring Union Christian College, Batala, where he was the Principal in 1966 or there about namely Dr Hew McLeod, Dr Juergensmeyer, Dr Webster and others had up their sleeves sinister plans to destory this Bridge. The Bridge has been destroyed only in the minds of the readers of what Dr Hew McLeod has propagated since 1968, but the personal bonds of the Sikh people and the Christian community remain untouched and unmolested so far in Punjab and the West. Dr Loehlin was kind enough to come to my house a number of times in late sixties to discuss how the bridge could be strengthened, and my children who were just kids met him and still remember him with great respect.

It was at a Seminar held in Institute of Advanced

Study, Rashtrapati Bhavan, Simla in 1966 for nearly a week that Dr Hew McLeod tried to prove in low key that Sikhism was offshoot of Hinduism, while Dr Loehlin proved that Islamic influence was predominant. None of the books of Dr. Hew McLeod had as yet been published. His paper was strongly criticized by Sardar Kapur Singh and some Muslim scholars also. Dr Loehlin has summed up all his views on Sikhism in his book: *"The Christian Approach to the Sikh"* published in Edinburgh in 1966. All the quotations given below are from this book, and the reader will note how diametrically opposed they are to the views propagated by Hew McLeod. That is probably the reason why Hew McLeod never mentions this book, Dr Loehlin published in U.K. even in bibliographies of his books.

Guru Nanak Founded Sikh Religion

"Nanak (1469-1539) was the Founder of Sikh religion. After the Enlightenment he made extended preaching tours as far as Assam in the East, Ceylon in South, Nepal, Tibet in the North and Mecca and Baghdad in the West. There is an inscription in Baghdad commemorating the visit of the Divine Master Faqir Auliya in 1521. His message was one of peace and reconciliation: There is no Hindu and no Musalman i.e. in the eye of God. This was the heart of his mission which aimed at the reconciliation of these two warring communities to form a New Brotherhood. His teaching and preaching methods were unconventional and dramatic."³¹

Guru Amar Das

"The third Guru Amar Das served as Guru for twenty-two years. He organized the Sikhs, now rapidly increasing in number into parishes under lay preachers. He gave great impetus to *langar* or free kitchen and refectory attached to all important gurdwaras (Sikh temples). This unique institution of Sikhism goes back to Guru Nanak. Free meals are served usually twice a day to any and all regardless of caste or social position on the one condition that they all sit down to eat with everybody else. The

Guru and the Central Gurdwara at Goindwal was famous as a leveller of men, and every visitor, even the Emperor Akbar, it is said, had to eat at this common refectory before the Guru would see him. He established death and marriage ceremonies with a Punjabi ritual for the Hindu ones in Sanskrit and Sikh religious festivals in place of Hindu festivals.”³²

Guru Arjun

Guru Arjun (1563-1606) was a great builder. He completed the Golden temple of Amritsar and had his Muslim friend Mian Mir come from Lahore and lay the foundation stone. The *Granth Sahib* is installed under a canopy. At one side musicians sing the hymns of the Granth. This is the only form of worship there. There is upper storey built around the central varlet where relays of *Granthis* read the *Adi Granth* without ceasing day and night. There is an air of openness, freedom and dignity about the temple that appeals to most Westerners.³³

Guru Gobind Singh

Guru Gobind Singh well knew the importance of the Pen as well as that of the Sword in the coming struggle for freedom. His court at Anandpur in the Himalayan foothills of the Punjab became a literary centre.

A story is told of the Guru's teaching methods that reminds one of a scene from the New Testament. He was talking with the Emperor Bahadur Shah about religion. The emperor maintained that whoever repeated the Islamic Creed would find salvation, whatever his character might be. The Guru held that something more was necessary, namely genuine faith. To prove his point he sent a servant off to the Bazar with a bad rupee on which the creed was stamped. The money lenders of course refused to honour it. The creed, the Guru reminded the emperor, even in the royal market-place was of no value on a counterfeit rupee.

The Guru Granth Sahib

It is necessary now to describe the Granth (the Book)

and the *Panth* (the Sikh Congregation). The tenth Guru declared the future Guruship to be invested in the *Adi Granth*, which is now known as the *Guru Granth Sahib*. When the Sikh congregation of representative leaders, pass resolutions in the presence of the *Guru Granth* these decrees are supposed to be binding on all Sikhs, as the Will of God. This aspect of the Granth reminds one of the ancient Ark of the Covenant of Hebrews.³⁴

The *Adi Granth* is a book of religious poems, including exhortation, instruction, religious dialogues and the 'mystical rhapsodies on God that bulk so large in the Granth (Hume). Historical narratives or prose teachings such as are found in the New Testament is altogether lacking. In general, the poetry of the Granth resembles that of the Psalms and Proverbs of the Bible with many passages that remind one of the Song of Songs.³⁵

"Under the title, "*Selections from the Sacred Writings of the Sikhs*," "some of the favourite portions of the *Adi Granth* have been translated into English by noted Sikh Scholars. This is part of UNESCO's major project". In the Foreword Dr Arnold Toynbee well says: "This translation is the first that has made the *Adi Granth* accessible, in more than short extracts, the English speaking public. The *Adi Granth* is part of mankind's common spiritual treasure. A book that has meant, and means, so much to such a notabale community the Sikh Khalsa deserves close study from the rest of the world."³⁶

The Granth of the Tenth Guru

"The Granth of the tenth Guru Gobind Singh, some-times officially called, "The Holy Granth of the Tenth Sovereign" is a *granth* almost equal in length to the *Adi Granth*." "One might compare the *Adi Granth* to a temple, where God' praises are sung, and the Tenth Granth to a fortress resounding with imminent attacks of the army with perhaps a small chapel near the entrance where God's assistance is invoked and his praises sung."³⁷

Islamic Influence on Sikhism

“Like other Founders of religions, the Sikh Gurus were influenced by the religious trends of their day and adopted them to their own needs. Two great religious movements have influenced Sikhism, namely Hindu Bhakti and Islamic Sufism. Nanak aimed at the fusion of Hindu-ism and Islam in a New Faith.”

“The *Dabistan* (whose author met Guru Har Gobind) attributes Nanak’s conversion and entrance upon his mission to a Sufi Dervish. He writes, A *Dervish* came to Nanak and subdued his mind in such a manner that he, Nanak, having entered the granary, gave away the property of Daulat Khan and his own, whatever he found there and in the house. Daulat Khan was struck with astonishment at hearing this, but recognizing in Nanak the mark of a dervish, he withheld his hand from hurting.” (*Dabistan* : Tr. Shea and Tny. Vol. 11, 247- 8).³⁸

Some of the figures of speech used by the Sufis are familiar to readers of the Sikh scriptures, such as the Name of God and the value of its repetition, the scent of the musk deer, sacrifice for God as the Beloved, with the devotee as the lover; the fish gasping without water, Celestial light, purifying power of love, predestination of fate, spirituous as a figure for spiritual intoxication. The verse from the Koran XVII, 109 is used both by Kabir and tenth Guru Gobind Singh.³⁹

Character of the Sikhs

“A Sikh is a man or woman who believes in the one Immortal Being, the ten Gurus, the Holy Granth Sahib and the Word and teachings of all the Gurus; the tenth Guru’s baptism and who does not believe in any other religion.”⁴⁰

“The Sikh faith was born in the fire of tyranny and persecution, for the Punjab was being devastated by a series of alien invasions and struggles for power under Mghan and Mughal emperors.”

“The Sikh faith did not escape the consequences of

being in this tyrannical environment. Of the ten Gurus, Arjan the fifth and Tegh Bahadur the ninth were martyred for their faith. Once again in the long history of religions it was to be shown that “the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church. And how many humble followers of the Gurus gave their lives for their faith will never be known, but they are remembered in the Prayer, the Sikhs recite daily so their lives were not sacrificed in vain.”⁴¹

“The Sikhs are intensely loyal to their Gurus. This is vividly exemplified in Malerkotla a Muslim city some twenty miles south of Ludhiana. The Nawab of Malerkotla had interceded for the two young sons of Guru Gobind Singh at Sirhind where they had been put to death. A Sikh historian says that due to a sense of gratitude of loyalty to their Guru the Sikhs have never molested Malerkotla even when the whole surrounding country was devastated. If this was true when Guru’s words were fresh in the memory, it is still more amazing that the city of Malerkotla with the Muslim population was not molested in the terrible communal riots attending the Partition of India in 1947.”⁴²

Sikhs and Christians: People of the Book

“As we have seen the Sikhs are in a special sense a ‘People of the Book’, since the Granth now takes the place of the Guru, Christians are also ‘People of the Book’. The Bible is one of the chief attraction of the Sikhs. The New Testament especially the Gospels which resemble the *Janam Sakhis* (Biographies of the Guru) and the heroes of the Old Testament has an appeal to hero-worshippers.”

“However, with a divided Church full of obvious im-perfections, what can we say when others ask” where is the ‘Sermon on Mount’ fulfilled in any Christian Church.” With the Sikhs at any rate, who judge by the fruit of the tree and who ever might claim that Sikhism is the fulfilment of Christianity, being later in time, and we might as well abandon fulfilment as an immediate approach, however, much we may believe in it as the culmination of all history. We are left then with an attitude of

Dialogue and Co-operation based on mutual respect. Here we are on solid ground for the Sikhs seem ready to work together with a community holding congenial beliefs, a community which will not try to dominate them. The main trouble in practising co-operation may come from the Christians, who may be either suspicious, or jealous, or fearful or losing their privileged position in the Church.⁴³

DR LOEHLIN AND DR HEW MCLEOD

In the light of nearly thirteen Chapters written on Hew McLeod we have given a few extracts from Dr Loehlin's last book on the "*Christian Approach to the Sikh*". These extracts cannot be dismissed by Hew McLeod and his Group as those of an orthodox Sikh, but they are the views of an orthodox Christian who understands Christianity a thousand times better than them and has spent nearly half a century among Sikhs and seen Muslims living in every Sikh village and Sikhs living in every Muslim village for centuries past. He has also learnt from Christianity how to respect and treat other religions. He was the Principal of the College where Hew McLeod and his like minded companions (Dr Juergensmeyer, G. Barrier Webster et al.) were only lecturers for a few years (maximum eight or ten years). One may not understand their arrogance, and ignorance compared to Dr Loehlin's correct perceptions of Sikh character and history, but one finds it difficult to understand why they have maintained a conspiracy of silence about the views of Dr Loehlin which are anti-thesis of their views as will be clearly seen from the few extracts I have given above. This only reveals their Machiavelian skill in picking and choosing what they actually needed for the nefarious game of demeaning and debasing Sikh history and doctrines. One feels sorry for those good intentioned Western scholars who, out of ignorance of the original and even correct secondary sources, accepted their distortions as scholarly contributions just as eminent scholars like Dr Monier Williams were misled to believe that Trumpp had

made a signal contribution by his work. The illusion in both cases has lasted only for about a decade.

DR TARA CHAND' S VIEWS

Dr Tara Chand is neither a Sikh nor a Muslim. He is a scholar known for his many contribution to Indian History and is one the few scholars who has given an irrefutable account of the Impact of Islamic Culture in all Indian States, particularly North India and Maharashtra. Being a Punjabi he has first hand knowledge of the history of the Sikhs. On Guru Nanak he says.

“It is clear that Nanak took the prophet of Islam as his model, and his knowledge was deeply coloured by this fact. He was a mystic in the sense that he had a lively realisation of the Presence of God, but he was not an enwrapped visionary like Kabir. His spirit took occasional flights to the sorrowless and where the Divine Palace is illumined by His Light which exceeds the light of millions of moons, lamps, suns and torches, and where from behind the curtain of the Unknown (*ghaibi*) the sound of the bells is heard, but he does not ravel in the transcendent joys of that illumined abode. His Spirit draws its inspiration from that vision, but it is far too deeply inter-ested in the fate of his fellow-beings upon earth to linger long in the rare mystic region.”⁴⁴

DIALOGUE IN THE LIGHT OF REVERENCE AND UNDERSTANDING OF RELIGIONS OTHER THAN OUR OWN

While Sikh warriors and political leaders might have fought political battles to achieve territorial gains, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there have been countless Sikh and Muslim saints who have maintained unbreakable religious and cultural ties with each other. We give one among countless examples.

Bhai Sahai Singh was an illumined saint living in Kot Isa (Pakisatan) in the second decade after Guru Gobind Singh. It was a region where more than seventy per cent population was Muslim. Every Muslim, Sikh and Hindu

flocked to him for blessings and peace. Some one suggested to Bhai Sahai Singh that many dervishes, yogis and ascetics living in that region might starve if all offerings pour to his *ashram* where every penny was used for feeding and clothing the poor.

Bhai Sahai Singh took with him his leading devotees and went to every dervish and yogi living in that region. He prostrated before them and told his followers that they were all greater than him and they should not be neglected. The same night a Muslim dervish knocked at his door and fell at his feet saying: "O Master, why did you humiliate yourself by prostrating yourself before a hypocrite and worthless creature like me?" Bhai Sahai Singh replied, "I see the face of Baba Nanak in the person of all holymen. Guru Gobind Singh respected all Muslim and other non-Sikh divines so greatly that they were all given place of honour in his *darbar*. Who are we petty Sikhs who can dare to disregard or dishonour dervishes and fakirs wandering in search of Truth?"

Throughout Sikh historical and religious literature I have not seen a single essay written by any Sikh in Punjabi or any other language against Christ, Mohammed, Buddha and Hindu Rishis, Munis, when the votaries of many other prophets of peace and harmony, have been writing producing the most vicious and hostile literature against the Sikh Gurus and their great disciples." Many of the eminent saints, scholars and early politicians of these centuries, I have known, were educated in Christian Mission Schools and Colleges. I have never heard a word of disrespect from them for Christ or Mohammed. Today we have Christian Missionary Academics like Hew McLeod group who unashamedly produces one or two books a year full of malice, and intolerable distortions and lies about Sikh history and doctrines. Sikhs have become an easy soft target for them. But I have met in U.K. and U.S.A. innumerable scholars who have boundless respect for Sikhism and are keen to know about the truth of its history and doctrines.

Paul Carus says, "Comparison is the best method of acquiring comprehension and comprehension involves both discrimination of contrasts and recognition of similarities. Differences are upon the whole at once apparent while similarities are hidden, but the import of indifference can at the same time not be appreciated until the similarities are seen. Every religious man should study other religion in order to understand his own religion, and he must try to trace, consciously and lovingly the similarities in the various faiths in order to acquire the key that will unlock to him the law of religious evolution of mankind."⁴⁵

The comparative study appeal is also upheld by Professor Geoffrey Parrinder who has spent a life time bringing out the universal ethical and spiritual unity in the profound depths of higher religions.

Professor Parrinder who has written some scholarly essays on Sikhism says, "The comparative study of religions, then can be practised, and religion is such an important and universal phenomenon that it deserves serious attention. Yet after the interest in primitive and curious phenomena in the past, many scholars and politicians today, and they are oddly at one in this, act as if religions do not matter. If the Christians and their missions often had an arrogant attitude to the religions of Asia, regarding them as hopelessly in the wrong, the modern attitude of the secular world is just as arrogant, regarding them as unimportant. Asian religions are often thought of as past superstitious hinderances to progress and their religious and philosophic classics, at least as profound as Greek philosophy are totally ignored. This is true of political ecclesiastical or university circles."⁴⁶

There is an attempt to study a highly developed religion like Sikhism purely from anthropological or socio-logical point of view, picking up for their objective study a section of uneducated society of backward region. Such attempts to present Sikhs as uncivilized tribals are not only misleading but also destructive.

Professor Geoffery Parrinder rightly remarks, ‘The most subtle foe of religion today is not the physicist or chemist, who may often be a practising Christian, but the anthropologist who very rarely is.’³⁴⁷ He quotes Evans Pritchard, Professor of Social Anthropology at Oxford, who speaking on religion and social anthropology declares “that practically all social anthropologists have been agnos-tics. From the utilitarians and evolutionists of the last century down to this day, they have studied religion, in its primitive forms and as under a microscope, but they did not believe a word of it themselves. How then could they understand it, for religion is not a thing, to be coldly analysed but a faith of passions.”³⁴⁸

I know personally and have participated in many Interfaith-Dialogues where scholars of Christianity, Islam and Judaism have shown immense genuine perceptions of Sikhism. I also know Sikhism will continue to reveal its inner strength and power, and it will be a bridge builder amongst divergent faiths.

In this book the author has clearly attempted to pin-point the perimeters of falsehood constructed around Sikhism by a small group of so-called Western academics in the last decade. The sinister forms it has taken today in the Corridors of Power and even in Sikh Institutions and universities of Punjab, where the mischief of corrupt poli-ticians and individuals is visible to the naked eye, is now awaiting shocking explosion.

In conclusion, I must state with conviction and certainly, that if a million Trumpps backed by Imperialistic power and a million Hew McLeod backed by missionary groups, try to wipe out the slate carrying the facts and truth of Sikh history and doctrines and dreams of re-inscribing it with malicious assumptions, absurd conjectures, and utterly false statements, they cannot succeed. Truth cannot be erased by any falsehood; Light cannot be over-shadowed by darkness, Life cannot be displaced by the ugliness of death.

Guru Gobind Singh has inscribed the truth of his

Faith, founded by Guru Nanak not on any brittle material, which its hostile critics are using as a slate, but on the pure and illumined hearts of millions and millions of seekers of God and Truth, Sikhs or seekers of Sikhism. He has not inscribed it with ordinary ink, but he has dipped his Pen in his own life-blood. Before Guru Gobind Singh writes even a verse, he invokes his Beloved: 'With Thy Grace and Power I Write.' He has recorded his life briefly in his autobiography and letters. He has put his doctrines in his immortal works. His oral messages which failed to be recorded have been recorded by his contemporaries and eye witnesses of his durbar who lived for over thirty years after his passing away. His message reveals that the humblest man on this earth is the lamp of God's eternal Light. He is superior to his external conditions and must rise up and realize the tremendous power of his hidden light and recognize as well as assert his divine dignity in society and the world. A Spider living in the dark corner of its cobweb may challenge the Sun, but it can neither trap it nor wipe it out.

We may end by an optimistic note from Professor Arnold J. Toynbee who sums up the historic destiny of Sikh religion thus: "Of all known religious scriptures this book (*Adi Granth*) is the most highly venerated. It means more to Sikhs than even Quran means to Muslims, the Bible means to Christians, and the Torah to the Jews. The *Adi Granth* is the Sikh's perpetual Guru (Spiritual Guru). It was formally invested with this functions by the last in the series of the human Gurus that began with the Founder of Sikh religion, Nanak."⁹

"But the *Adi Granth* is a Catholic anthology. It also includes hymns written by earlier Indian seers in whom Nanak and his successors recognized kindered spirits; and some of these contributors to the *Granth* are Hindus, whilst others are Muslims. Their writings have found a place in the *Adi Granth* because the compilers of it held, and this surely with good reason, that these seers were Sikhs in fact, though they lived and wrote before the Sikh religion

took institutional form. They were Sikhs because they brought out and emphasized the universal spiritual truths contained in their respective religious traditions: and those truth belong to all ages and to all faiths.”⁵⁰

“Mankind’s religious future may be obscure, yet one thing can be foreseen: the living higher religions are going to influence each other more than ever before, in these days of increasing communication between all parts of the world and all branches of the human race. In this coming religious debate, the Sikh religion, and scriptures the *Adi Granth*, will have something of special value to say to the rest of the world. This religion is itself a monument of creative spiritual intercourse between two traditional religions whose relations have otherwise not been happy. This is a good augury.”⁵¹

From the inspiration derived from *Guru Granth* the Sikh history has produced great illumined saints of the calibre of St. Francis and St. John of Cross. They have produced nearly a thousand well known martyrs, and many more unknown ones, who have allowed themselves to be tortured to extinction in the most inhuman and barbaric manner even in recent history. To attempt to wipe out the history and glorious achievements of such people by mere propaganda and malicious campaigns is an exercise in which the Mughals failed, the Afghans failed, British Imperialism failed, and a glaring ignominious failure is writ large on the forehead of those who have been trying to wipe them out in recent years.

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After seeing Prof. Arnold Toynbee off to Lahore Mr & Mrs William Jones stayed at Ludhiana for two days. They told me that Professor Toynbee was profoundly impressed by the Golden Temple, about the fact that this was the only temple he saw in India where he could see the services being conducted with reverence and devotion both in the day time and at nightfall. This was the only temple which radiated peaceful and devotional atmosphere and Sikh religion in active service could be seen. I conducted Mr and Mrs William Jones to all the colleges in the city and rural area. He was anxious to help them with books on behalf of the British Council.

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 23. James R. Lewis, *Some Unexamined Assumptions in Western Studies of Sikhism*, journal of Sikh Studies: Vol. XIII, No. n, August 1985, p. 47.
 24. *ibid.*, p. 48.
 25. *ibid.*, p. 54.
 26. *ibid.*, p. 54.
 27. *ibid.*, p. 55.
 28. *ibid.*, p. 56.
 29. *ibid.*, p. 57.
 30. *ibid.*, p. 58.
 31. C.H. Loehlin, *The Christian Approach to the Sikh*: Edinburgh, 1966, p.29.
 32. *ibid.*, p. 30-31.
 33. *ibid.*, p. 32.
 34. *ibid.*, p. 35.
 35. *ibid.*, p. 42.
 36. Arnold J. Toynbee, Foreword: *The Sacred Writings of the Sikhs*, (UNESCO Collection). Tr Trilochan Singh et al p. 9.
 37. C.H. Loehlin. *The Christian Approach to the Sikhs*, 1966, *ibid.*, p. 45-46.
 38. *ibid.*, p. 22.
 39. *ibid.*, p. 25.
 40. *ibid.*, p. 51.
 41. *ibid.*, p. 28-29.
 42. *ibid.*, p. 59.
 43. *ibid.*, p. 72-73.
 44. Tara Chand, *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, p. 69.
 45. Paul Carus, *Buddhism and Its Christian Critics*, p. 5.
 46. Geoffrey Parrinder, *Comparative Religion*, p. 15.
 47. *ibid.*, p. 17.
 48. *ibid.*, p. 17.
 49. Arnold J. Toynbee, Foreword to "*The Sacred Writings of the Sikhs*" (UNESCO Collection) Tr : by Trilochan Singh *et al.* p. 9.
 50. *ibid.*, p. 10.
 51. *ibid.*, p. 11.

APPENDIX-I

**PASHAURA SINGH'S THESIS ON "THE TEXT
AND MEANING OF ADI GRANTH" GUIDED
BY DR HEW McLEOD**

I had seen the first proofs of this book when news came about the controvesrial thesis of Pashaura Singh guided by Dr Hew Mcleod in the University of Toronto. The learned Guide has induced his docile and abjectly submissive student to project, rationalize and uphold his crude, irresponsible and unsubstantiated views about *Adi Granth* in the hope of getting respectability and credibility for his views in U .S. - Canadian academic world. Pashaura Singh, a willing victim of Dr McLeod's indoctrinated propaganda machinery has been pushed into the pit of ignominy and humiliation he is unfortunately fac-ing now). He succeeded in persuading Pashaura Singh to write in McLeodian language and idiom what even Dr McLeod did not dare to write in any of his books.

I received a copy of Pashaura Singh's thesis from U.S.A. on 20th November. There is a high level clique that has been working as a willing tool of "McLeod Sahib" as they call the learned Guide of Pashaura Singh. The highest authority in University provided a microfilm to McLeod Sahib, but Sikh and Indian scholars were virtually denied access to the GNDU MSj1245. With considerable difficulty, I was able to get a Zerox copy of some portions and permission to go through a Zerox copy kept in the rare section room. The original was kept by the librarian in his office and presented only for *darshan* of the specially decorated pages having an alleged verse of Bhai Buddha and the autographs of Sikh Gurus.

Pashaura Singh's thesis has seven chapters out of which only three are connected with his subject, the Textual study of GNDU MS/1245. It opens with a long quotation from his learned Guide and ends with a longer quotation claiming to have proved what his learned Guide has said in his books. Pashaura Singh gives over sixty references from Dr Hew McLeod's books and does not give a single line from the scholarly opinions of learned commentators on *Adi Granth* of nineteenth and twentieth century. But he goes on quoting, rationalizing and repeating Dr Hew McLeod's pet hostile phrases, pungent terminology, coruectual comments and derogatory remarks ending each irrelevant theme crudely discussed by him with inconsequential questions which are always based on false premises, prejudiced observations and blasphemous assumptions. Like his Guide, Pashaura Singh never considers it necessary to give any credible evidence for any of his disturbing statements and proclamations in the style of Dr Hew McLeod's assertions quoted in thirteen chapters of this book.

This induced and contrived thesis of Pashaura Singh is verily a Pandora Box of clumsy distortions, highly absurd prompted contortions and inspired malformations. It is said about the Pandora Box of Greek mythology that when all the evils that flesh is heir to flew forth out of it and have ever since continued to afflict the world, the last that flew out of it was 'Hope'. But in the Pandora Box constructed through Pashaura Singh's thesis by Dr Hew McLeod, the Christian Missionary Critic of *Adi Granth* has left no place for 'Hope'. Throughout the thesis there is a lot of quibbling and cavilling, but one does not find any internal or external credible evidence on any page of the thesis.

PASHAURA SINGH'S THESIS IS NOT

A TEXTUAL STUDY IN ANY SENSE OF THE WORD

I have already stated in my book that hermeneutical studies and textual analysis of *Dasm Granth* and *Adi Granth*

(based only on historically accepted authentic recensions) has been a continuous process in the past two centuries. I have mentioned the names of scholars who have devoted their lifetime to hermeneutical studies of Sikh scriptures. I have personally known a number of eminent scholars who have been working, each in his own way and expressing their views freely and frankly, but always remaining open to other points of view. It is unbelievable that Pashaura Singh did not find time to look at the shelves of University-libraries which are rich in material. He does not even mention their names probably for fear of offending the sensibilities of his Guide, whose backseat driving in his research work has landed him in the pit of such multiple blunders out of which he finds it difficult to extricate himself.

There are many textual analytical studies of Sanskrit works. Even though many manuscripts of Kabir's works are available and scholars of great eminence have worked on him, but no one has as yet prepared a Textual analysis of his works. But a gifted Belgian scholar Dr Winand Callawaert, Professor of Indian Studies at Katholieke Universiteit, Leuven, Belgian, has given a remarkable Textual and Critical analysis of all existing recensions of *Hindi Padavali of Namdev*.² On the Rajasthani collection he is assisted by Dr Mukand Lath. If there are five different versions of the text, he has given all the five. He has also given a very simple and beautiful translation, of his collection leaving a few untranslated. The translation matches the sublimity and inner mystical charms of Namdev's hymns. Dr Win and Callawaert's *Hindi Padavali of Namdev* is a shining example of an excellent and scholarly Textual Analysis of Hymns of a medieval saint of eminence. If he prepares a similar work of Namdev's Marathi Abhangas he will certainly emerge as the most outstanding scholar of Namdev's works. Compared to Professor Callawaert's work Pashaura Singh's work is not a Textual Analysis in any sense of the word.

Pashaura Singh has even failed to correctly present and

interpret the *Mulmantar* and Japji from authentic re-censions. He simply picks up less than a dozen hymns out of a bulky text of 1267 folios (2534 pages) and gives errat-ic and bizarre interpretations without comparing with any of the hundreds of dated authentic old recensions.

USE OF IRRELEVANT AND INAPPROPRIATE TERMS

Pashaura Singh followed his Guide mindlessly in the use of quite inappropriate words for well known oriental religious concepts. A knowledgeable reader clearly notices a clever derangement of concepts through the use of these irrelevant words.

FORMULA FOR MANTRA

Both Pashaura Singh and Dr Hew McLeod translate the *Mantm* as formula. There is as great difference between formula mathematical or otherwise or *Mantms* as between the jewel of a crown and shining stones on the sea shore. The word *mantm* means the Mystic Word or Words; and such words exist in every faith such as *Bismilla* in Koran. Each Hindu sect has its own deities, gods or goddesses and for them the priests have coined *mantms*. But the *mantm* (*Mulmantar* and *gurmantar*) in Sikhism are divine Words carrying within them the essence of revelation of the Light of God to Guru Nanak. Let us first explain what a *mantm* is and what it is not.

The eminent German scholar Agehananda Bharati says, “Finally *mantm* is not a senseless mumbojumbo of words, a view expressed by European scholars in the last century and held by Arya Samajists and other Indian scholars to this day. There is a two-fold danger today of perpetuating this erroneous notion. The first stems from philosophy which would relegate *mantm* to hocus pocus dustbins. *Mantm* is verifiable not by what it describes but by what it effects, if it creates that somewhat complex feeling in the practising person.”⁷³

Heinrich Zimmer says, “*Mantm* is Power, not a mere word or speech which the mind can contradict or evade. What the *mantra* expresses by its sound *exists*, comes to

pass. Here if anywhere, words are deeds, acting immediately. It is the peculiarity of the true poet that his word creates actuality, calls forth and unveils something real. His word does not talk, it acts. The *mantm* is the Word which is vehicle of mystical forces. *Mantms* are inward and spiritualized words. It is blasphemous to call them secular words.’²⁴

About the meditation on mantras in Buddhism, the German Buddhist monk Anagarika Govinda says, “Buddha’s spiritual power is present in the *mantm* but the impulse which amalgamates the qualities of heart and mind and the creative forces which respond to the idea and fill it with life, this is what the devotee has to contribute. If his faith is not pure, he will not achieve inner unity; if his mind is untrained; he will not be able to assimilate the idea if he is psychically dull; his energies will not respond to the call; and if he lacks in concentration, he will not be able to co-ordinate form, heart and mind.’²⁵

Mulmantar and *gurmantar* have a profoundly exalted place in Sikh religious and mystical discipline and practices: The hymns of *Guru Ganth* have given elaborate interpretation of *Mulmantar* and *Gurmantar* in Sikh Scriptures. We give only a few quotations.

Mulrnantra is the divine alchemy
of the Name of God,
Contemplating which says Nanak
The Perfect Lord is attained.

A.G. Guru Nanak, *Rag Maru*, p 1040⁶

Remember and recite the *gurnnantar*
In inner consciousness, says Nanak
You will be free from all sorrow and suffering.

A.G. Guru Arjun, *Shl Gujari*, p 521

The True Word has been imparted
As *gurnnantar* to me
I have meditated on this true Word
Glorified the Presence of the Lord
And dispelled all disquiet and distress.

A.G. Guru Arjun, *Vadhans*, P 576^{8a}

The True Guru has initiated me
 Into the *gurmantra* (Mystic Word)
 And imparted His Name
 As the panacea of all ailments.

A.G, Guru Arjun, p 1002^{8b}

Count Keyserling has rightly said, “Man is exactly as immortal as his ideal and exactly as real as the energy with which he serves it.” Scholars completely lacking higher moral and spiritual perceptions have dehumanized and sterilized some of the most exalted and refined aesthetical and mystical doctrines of Sikh religion. “A merely historical or philological interpretation of a *mantra* is indeed the most superficial and senseless way of looking at it, since it takes the shell for the kernel and the shadow for the substance; because words are not dead things, which we toss at each other like coins and which we can put away, lock up in a safe or bury underground, and which we can take out.”⁹

POTHIS : ANTHOLOGIES OF GURBANI

When Guru Nanak set up and institutionalized the Sikh Church at Kartarpur he fixed three daily prayers (*Nitnem*) for all initiated Sikhs nearly twenty years before he left this world. The prayers were *Jajpi*, *Rahiras* (Guru Nanak’s verses) and *Arti Sohila* (Guru Nanak’s verses).¹⁰ When some disciples who came from far off places asked, “Sire, when can we have a glimpse of your divine presence again” Guru Nanak replied, “My physical and temporal body is transient; but the *Shabad*, the *Bani* is my real Personality and Being. Contemplate it and you can achieve nearness to me.”¹¹ So it became an article of faith with Sikhs to have a collection of Hymns of Guru Nanak in the form of *Polhis*. The Sikh *Sangats* of far off places had such collections. The hymns of Kabir and other Nirgun Bhagtas were also collected.

Guru Nanak passed on a definitive collection of his own hymns and those of some Bhagtas to Guru Angad. Those authentic collections were given by Guru Angad to

Guru Amar Das, whose own collections were considerable, Goindwal became the ancestral home of our fourth and fifth Gurus. When Guru Ram Das and Guru Arjun came to Amritsar the original *Pothis* were still at Goindwal, but copies and the original works of Guru Ram Das and Guru Arjun were preserved in Kotha Sahib built just opposite the Harimandir (Golden Temple). Adjacent to *Kotha Sahib*, Guru Hargobind built *Akal Takht*.

A Manuscript copy of Bhai Mani Singh's *Sikhan di Bhagatmala* copied within three years of his martyrdom and other printed versions report the following historical facts which are supported by other historical documents of considerable importance.

Bhai Gopi Mehta and his fair companions came to the Presence of Guru Arjun. They humbly said, "O true King of kings, on hearing the Bani (Hymns) of the Satguru the mind is inspired by reverence and devotion. But Prithimal, Mahadev and other Sodhis (referring to Meharban) have written *Bani* with the signature line of 'Nanak'. On hearing the compositions of these Sodhis the mind of the listener is filled with vanity and crafty thoughts."

"On hearing this well-founded and convincing complaint Guru Arjun said to Bhai Gurdas, "Now we have Sikhs who can discriminate between the *Bani* of the true Guru (true Prophets) and false Guru (false prophets). The spiritually enlightened Sikhs today perceive the difference between authentic Bani (*Sachi Bani*) and fake Bani (*Kachi Bani*) of imitators and pretenders, but in future it may be difficult. So collect all the *Bani Pothis* for the compilation of *Granthji*. Also, simplify the Gurmukhi alphabet (*Gurmukhi akhar sugam kichai*) so that everyone may read them easily (*Sabh kisai de viichan vich sugam hovan*). So all the collections of Bani were collected and kept in a room (at Amritsar) (*kothai vich banian ikathian kitian*). Guru Arjun then asked Bhai Gurdas to bring all the *Bani Pothis* that were with Baba Mohan (at Goindwal). Bhai Gurdas said, "Gurudeva, Mohan has not given

the *Pothis* to me. Please go yourself and acquire them.”¹²

Guru Arjun went to Goindwal and with his moving and touching songs on the hidden magnanimity of Mohan his maternal uncle and the eternal glory of Mohan the Eternal Lord, cast such a spell on Mohan that he opened the doors of his *chaubara* and humbly offered all the *Pothis* to Guru Arjun which were brought on Palanquin which is still preserved in Goindwal.

PASHAURA SINGH'S PROSAIC AND DISCURSIVE OBSERVATIONS ON
SOME RECENSIONS OF ADI GRANTH

In the second and third chapters of his thesis Pashaura Singh makes superficial observations on Goindwal Pothis, Kartarpur *Bir* and other recensions which he has neither seen nor studied the text of anyone of these volumes. He has seen some old copies in Punjabi University and other places, but says nothing even about the Japji and other important texts of these recensions. He only repeats the remarks of his Guide, Dr Hew McLeod here and there.

Without giving an iota of internal or external evidence, and without quoting a single sentence from his-torical documents, and without refuting contemporary or near contemporary evidence about the canonization of *Adi Granth* (known earlier as *Pothi Sahib* or *Granth Sahib*) as Guru and successor of Guru Gobind Singh, he makes a blasphemous statement saying, “The foregoing examina-tion of the early manuscripts reveals that GNDU MS/1245 was one o’f the many Drafts on which Guru Arjun seems to have worked to produce the final text of the *Adi Granth* in 1604 A.D.” (Thesis Chapt. 2, P. 60). According to Pashaura Singh, both the Sikh Panth and even Guru Gobind Singh failed to produce a final standard edition, a task which according to him and his Guide was fulfilled by the illiterate ruler Ranjit Singh with the help of a council of scholars whose names are not mentioned by him. At the end of the third chapter he reiterates his mischievous and unsubstantiated statement without giving even a cor-

-rect resume of any of the recensions mentioned in his thesis by authoritatively asserting: “A careful survey of the early manuscripts reveals that there was no one version of *Adi Granth*, Ranjit Singh abolished the institution of *gumatta* (collective decision of the Khalsa Panth) and tried to down play the doctrine of *Guru Panth*. He also made efforts to bring forward the doctrine of *Guru Granth*. Maharaja Ranjit Singh appointed a council of prominent Sikh scholars to prepare an authorized version of *Adi Granth* (Thesis Chap. 3, p. 82).” Pashaura Singh is not tired of repeating this utterly stupid suggestion without giving an iota of evidence: Guru Arjun frequently revised the received texts in the interest of establishing a canonical scripture. During the editorial process, Guru Arjun achieved linguistic refinement through substitution of synonyms for certain words,” which he presumes Guru Arjun did not have in earlier drafts. Pashaura Singh mindlessly follows the absurd suggestions of his Guide Dr McLeod but he does not give a single line or a single word from the text to prove what he so loudly asserts.

PASHAURA SINGH’S MENDACIOUS CONCOCTIONS AND
PRESENTATIONS OF GNDU MS/I245
AS GURU ARJUN’S FIRST DRAFT

This chapter opens with a passage from an essay of Dr Loehlin, which was originally written by him “long ago. But after his death Hew McLeod clique prepared a distorted form of it, introducing in it passages to which he never subscribed during his life time. They have got it published under a new title “*The Need For Textual and Historical Criticism*” to suit their purpose.”¹³

These three chapters move around one lamp-post in the blind-alley in which Pashaura Singh ventures to enter. This lamp-post is his Light-house, and whenever he gropes in the darkness of bluff, blustering deception, he follows the light-house repeatedly asserting: McLeod says, McLeod thinks, McLeod suggests, McLeod concludes’. With such back-seat driving of his learned Guide, Pashaura Singh

again and again jumps out of the frying pan into the fire of hostile and ignominious postures constructed by his guide. But a scholar with academic interests looks for some concrete internal or external evidence in support of his much trumpeted theory that GNDU MS/1245 is an early draft prepared by Guru Arjun.

PASHAURA SINGH/MCLEOD'S MAGICAL FORMULA

Many people like me do not believe in magic, but when you happen to see a magical show you are impressed by the art of illusion. But Pashaura Singh and his learned Guide Dr Hew McLeod have evolved a novel magical formula for upgrading and downgrading sacred scriptures and fake documents to whatever position they desire. Besides giving a newly constructed Geneological Table, historically incorrect and misleading from top to bottom (Thesis p. 23) he introduces a new magical formula in Toronto University academic studies by making the following statement.

“If the standard rule of textual criticism that “the shorter reading is to be preferred to the longer one (*Brevior lectio praeferenda verbosiori*) is considered the text of this manuscript comes out to be earlier than the famous Kartarpur manuscript. Another rule that “the more difficult reading is generally preferable” (*Proclivi lectioni praestat ardua*) may be equally applied to GNDU text since it contains archaic linguistic expressions which were standardized in the Kartarpur volume.”¹⁴

If some learned Christian scholar like Dr Hew McLeod applies an *abracadabra* magic formula and some Latin or Greek so called standard rules of criticism, to the Bible and places the Fourth Gospel before the First, and Epistles of St. Paul before the birth of Jesus Christ, his Christian colleagues of Berkley and Toronto Universities might consider Dr Hew McLeod and his students and admirers genuses of a new genre, but all those eminent scholars who devoted a life time to the study of the Bible might turn in their graves on hearing of this new methodology

of studying sacred scriptures. Even orthodox Sikhs are very tolerant people but no one in his normal senses can tolerate such gibberish nonsense.

Both Dr Hew McLeod and Pashaura Singh might have been on better grounds if they had taken shelter under such Latin or Greek phrases to protect and propagate their preju'dices and errors as: argumentum and ignorantium (arguments based on the adversary's ignorance; or individiam (peoples hatred and prejudices). These universities have lowered their own prestige by instituting such unacademic research which only ventilates the ignorance, contempt and prejudices of a hostile Christian scholar and a stupid Sikh student.

MUL-MANTAR IN AUTHENTIC GURU GRANTH COPIES

Mul-mantar and *Gur-mantar* in Sikh scriptures have been one and the same ever since they were revealed to Guru Nanak. They have come down to us only through written tradition. Cult-groups virtually disassociated from Sikhism even during the Guru-period have tried to corrupt *Mulmantar*, *Gurmantar* and also distort *Gurbani*, but the *Mulmantar* and *Gurmantar* of Guru Nanak has been recorded in all authentic recensions of *Adi Granth*, historically acceptable *Janamsakhis* and *Gurbilases* is absolutely correct. The correct *Mulmantar* is :

Ek: The One Transcendent God
Omkar. All-pervading Immanent Spirit
Satnam: His Name is Eternal Truth
Karta Purkh: Creator, Perfect Being
Nirbhau: Without Fear
Nirvair : Without Enmity
Akal murti: Immortal His divine Image
Ajuni: Unborn
Saibhan: Self-Existent
Gurparshad: By His Grace attained

The *Mulmantar* is based on Guru Nanak's experience and vision of the Unmanifest Absolute One and only One God, and His Manifest Immanent, All-pervading Light *Omkar* This Ek Omkar is also called the *Bij Mantar* and is present in all

invocations. The divine Attributes of God are given in the *Mulmantar*. It embodies the luminosity of the Unmanifest Absolute God and His All-pervading Light which gives Life and divine spark to all living creatures. It unfolds a vision of the Ultimate Reality and the Creative Power behind the universe.

Contemplation and meditation on the *Mulmantra* opens the inner-most being of man to the spiritual con-sciousness of the Immanent and Transcendent Presence of God. In the *Gum Granth* we find it in 33 places. Besides being placed at the opening of new *Ragas*, it is particularly attached to two major compositions of *Adi Granth* namely *Japji* and *Asa-Ki-Var*. It appears it was inseparably associated with these compositions from the time of Guru Nanak.

MINOR INVOCATIONS

For invocations as minor sub-headings a part of it *ek omkar satnam kartapurkh gurprashad* is used only eight times; while a still shorter invocation *ek orhkar satgurprashad* is used 525 times. These minor invocations are not *Mulmantras*. They are used even while writing a letter. For writing encyclic letters (*Hukamnamas*) these invocations were still reduced to brief statements and *ekornkar gum sat*. Guru Gobind Singh introduced a number of other invocations such as *Vahguru-ji-ki Fateh*, *tav prashad*, *Akal Sahai*. These invocations are not *rnantras* and are not used for meditations.

Bhai Gurdas has explained in detail the significance of *Mulmantra* in two of his verses in such a way that the distortions can easily be detected. Bhai Gurdas, the co-compiler of *Adi Granth* authoritatively confirms what the real *Mulrnantar* in Sikh Scriptures is and what it means.

ekamar-akang likh
 Ura Omkar lakhaya
 satnam karta purkh
 nirbhau hoe niroair sadaya
 akal murat partakh soe
 nau ajuni saibham bhaya

Autograph of Guru Arjun with Correct *Mul-Mantar*, in Kartarpur recension of *Adi Granth*.

gurprashad sit adi sach

jugeh jugantar honda aya

After writing the numerical *akang* (one)

Symbolizing *ekamkar*. the Transcendent God.

The letter *Ura* was written along with it

Symbolizing *Omkar* : All-pervading Immanent Spirit

Satnam: Eternal Truth is His Name

Karta-purkh: He is Creator, perfect Being

Nirbhau hoe, being Ever Fearless

Niroair Sadaya: He is known as "Without Enmity".

Akal-murat His Immortal image is Visible Presence.

His attribute is *Ajuni*: Unborn

He is ever Self-Existent: *Saibham*

By the grace of Eternal Guru (*Gurprashad*)

He is achieved: The Primal Truth

Who ever exists from age to age.

Bhai Gurdas: *Var 39, pauri 1*.

Bhai Gurdas repeats this confirmation of Guru Nanak's *Mulmantar* in *Var 26*.

As break away cults like *Minas* who were condemned as highway robbers had already started corrupting *Gurbani*, distorting *Millmantar* and *Gurmantar*, So Bhai Gurdas not only clearly states what *mill-mantar* in Sikh Meditations is, but also gives clear expression to Guru Nanak's *gurmantar* when he says, "*Vah-Guru Gurmantar hai jap haumai khoi*. *Vah-Guru* is the *gurumantar* contemplating which the disciple gets rid of all I-am-ness, (ego-consciousness).

FORGERIES, FABRICATIONS IN GURU NANAK DEV UNIVERSITY

MANUSCRIPT: GNDU MS /1245

Guru Nanak Dev University bought this manuscript from curio dealers Harbhajan Singh and Harcharan Singh Chawla. Dr Piar Singh and Dr Madanjit Kaur of Guru Nanak Studies Department of the University certified it as a very rare and unique manuscript of *Adi Granth*. A micro-film copy of this manuscript was specially provided to Dr Hew McLeod, perhaps on the strong recommendation of Dr Piar Singh and Dr Madanjit Kaur, two of the four or five strong admirers of Dr Hew McLeod and uncritical

supporters and propagators of his bluff-blunder books allegedly called academic.

The claim of the dealers or those who have committed the forgeries that there is *Nishan mangal* of Guru Hargobind are utterly false. A *Mul-mantar* written by the clearly discernible hand-writing of Guru Tegh Bahadur is pasted on it afterwards.

FORGERY IN THE NAME OF BHAJ BODDHA

It is shocking to note that Professors who recommended it as a rare Manuscript of *Adi Granth*, in their rash enthusiasm to promote this completely fake eighteenth century document as an early and rare draft of *Adi Granth* failed to note that the crude hand in which this hymn falsely attributed to Bhaj Buddha is a recent forgery pasted on it to give it historical colouring and increase its sale value.

A hymn is pasted on the Manuscript which is attributed by those who forged it to Bhaj Buddha's handwriting. Pashaura Singh says, "The attribution of this hymn to Bhaj Buddha is based on the family tradition. See the Manuscript Note by Harbhajan Singh and Harcharan Singh Chawla" (p 27-28 f.n.). Pashaura Singh writes "the manuscript contains a hymn written in Bhaj Buddha's hand on the third decorated page, which may show his involvement in the creation of the scriptures. It is quite possible that his descendants may have preserved the manuscript through the process of handing it over to the next generation. "

The forgery is clear from the following, facts:

(1) During the course of my researches I have maintained a regular contact with the *deras* and villages connected with Bhaj Buddha's life. These *deras* and shrines never had any recension of *Adi Granth* or any document having anything written by Bhaj Buddha's hand.

(2) These lines written with a rustic hand are from a distorted hymn of Guru Amar Das. They have nothing to do with Bhaj Buddha.

(3) Bhai Buddha was the first teacher who taught the punjabi alphabet first to Guru Arjun and then formally to Guru Hargobind. No man in his proper senses would believe that Bhai Buddha wrote in such a clumsy and crude handwriting. Bhai Buddha was the most honoured and the First Patriarch of Sikh history who was not only the most loved and respected disciple of Guru Nanak, but he was appointed by the Founder of Sikhism to anoint his successor. God granted him such long life and spiritual strength that he anointed five successors of Guru Nanak. When the compilation of *Adi Granth (Pothis Sahib)* was completed, he was asked to install it in the *Rari Mandir* (Golden Temple). He was appointed the first High Priest of this most sacred shrine because of his first hand knowledge and experience of the durbars of Guru Nanak, Guru Angad, Guru Amar Das and Guru Ram Das. Those who have presented a forged hymn under his forged handwriting deserve to be condemned for such blasphemous act.

MINA-CULT ATTITUDE TOWARDS BHAI BUDDHA

If there was anyone whom the Mina-Cult rival gurus hated it was Bhai Buddha and Bhai Gurdas, who cam-paigned against the aggressive and mischievous schismatic activities of Prithi Mal and his son Meharban, who were condemned by them as Minas (Highway robbers). They bribed the Masands and indirectly plundered the tithes before they reached the legitimate Guru. They corrupted and plagiarized *Gurbani*, and thus committed literary thefts in many ways. When Guru Ram Das handed over the articles of spiritual regalia to Bhai Buddha and asked him to anoint his youngest son Arjun Mal as his successor, Prithi Mal rudely confronted Bhai Buddha and said,

Listen O old Man,
I know you very well;
You are praised
As companion of Guru Nanak;
I am the eldest son,
And deserved to be set

On the pontific throne of the Guru.
 You have not done the right thing;
 You are an old man now,
 And have lost all sense of discrimination;
 I conducted all the administration,
 What have you done old Man.
 You have anointed Arjun as the successor.
 If I do what I must do
 You will have to face dishonour and humiliation;
 I will wrest control of the pontific throne.

Kavi Santokh Singh: *Sura} Prakash*, Ras 2, Ansu 22

The hostility of the Mina Sodhis (Prithi Mal and Meharban continued to the end of the life of the great Patriarch who was respected as a great Apostle and contemporary of Guru Nanak by all the Sikh Gurus.

BHAI GURDAS'S CRITICISM OF MINA SODHIS

PRITHI MAL AND MEHARBAN

It is an established fact that the decision to compile an *Adi Granth* (*Pothi* : Holy Book) was made when it was detected that the Mina Sodhis had started mixing their own hack-work and imitation verses in authentic Gurbani, Kesar Singh Chhiber in his *Bansavalinama* writes:

“Meharban son of Prithi Mal started composing poetry. He was educated in Persian Hindvi, Sanskrit and Punjabi. He composed his own *Bani*, with the signature line of Nanak. The bards ignorantly started singing it as real *Bani*. These Mina Sodhis set up their own durbar and prepared their own Granth. They put into their Granth the *Bani* of earlier Gurus.”¹⁵

When Guru Arjun heard the bards ignorantly sing-ing Mina-Bani as real Bani, he addressed Bhai Gurdas and said, “These Minas are corrupting *Gurbani* by mixing their own fake *Bani* in it. This we will not permit.”¹⁶ Thus Bhai Gurdas was asked to collect all the authentic *Pothis*. Sarup Das Bhalla also writes in his *Mehma Prakash* :

Guru Arjun immediately commanded
 Bhai Gurdas to collect all Bani Pothis
 Compile the True Gurbani
 include in it the Bhagat Bani

And take out the fake Bani (Kachi Bani)

Sarup Das Bhalla: *Mehma Prakash*, p. 701

The *more* pacific Guru Arjun remained, the *more* aggressive and violent was the attitude of Prithi Mal and Meharban. Every time Guru Arjun sent Bhai Buddha and Bhai Gurdas for reconciliation and peaceful family relations, Prithimal and Meharban insulted them and *were* extremely rude to them. When they made an all out bid to bribe the Masands and win the support of the Mughal authorities to capture the control of Amritsar, Bhai Gurdas exposed them by writing a whole *Var* (Canto) of stirring verses exposing their hypocrisy, duplicity, meanness and wicked deeds thus:

“The Minas are as hypocritical as the cranes who dwell in holy rivers cheating by their pretensions on places of pilgrimage. The True Guru is the King of Kings. The *Minas* are spiritless evil persons whose faces are blackened with evil deeds. (Var 36-1)

Just as a Jackal who jumped into the vat of a dyer changed his external appearance and posing as King of the Jungle he frightened all animals into submission; But when the Jackal opened his mouth his utterances exposed him. Such are the false and mischievous (*kupata*) Minas. They are without character and honour and will be chastised and exposed in the Court of God (36-2). How can a Mina glow worm ever face the Light of ever shining Moon? How can a Mina who is like a drop of water ever be equal to the Vast Sea (the true Guru). You stand condemned from the divine Source O Minas. You are doomed to hell. (36-3)

Just as a prostitute is beautiful but her black heart and soul pushes her lovers to the pit so the companionship of Minas pushes a person to the pit of sorrow and suffering. (36-5)

How do you distinguish the True Guru from
 the Mina hypocrites. Minas are like
 counterfeit coins. They are like
 condemned and repudiated Pirs who
 get shoe beating wherever they go (36-8)
 Without possessing any moral or spiritual
 qualities these Minas proclaim themselves
 to be Gurus of the Sikhs. (36-11)

The *Janam Sakhis*, the *Goshtis*, the imitative *Bani* as written by Prithimal, Meharban and his son Harji stood condemned and anathematized by the Sikhs. At first, Prithimal claimed to be the fifth Guru of the Sikhs, but a sustained campaign against them carried on by Bhai Buddha and Bhai Gurdas ousted them out of Amritsar. The supreme sacrifice of Guru Arjun in suffering martyrdom with divine calmness and endurance put the Minas in the shade. But when Prithi Mal found the 11-12 year old Hargobind installed as sixth Guru, he felt that he could easily oust him as successor of his father. So Prithi Mal started captioning his initiative *Bani* as Mahal Sixth, and when he died, his son Meharban started calling himself the seventh Guru while Meharban's son Harji became the 8th Guru. After that their guruship faded away. In the name of Nanak VI, VII and VIII they composed hymns, plagiarizing and changing the verses of *nirgun upasana* to *sargun upasana* in praise of Krishna and Rama. They stole so much of it and intimated so much of the *Bani* of earlier Gurus that Guru Arjun had to compile a Correct version. I am firmly of the opinion that because the *Minas* wrote hymns under the name of Nanak VI, VII, VIII, the real successors of Guru Nanak who rightly were Nanak VI (Guru Hargobind) Nanak VII (Guru Har-Rai) Nanak VIII (Guru Hari-Krishan) never wrote any hymn, which made it easier for the Sikhs to discard the hymns of *Minas* under the name of Nanak VI, VII, VIII. Thus we find the *Bani* under *Mahalla* Sixth, Seventh and Eighth is all *Mina Bani*.

TECHNIQUE ADOPTED BY MEHARBAN AND OTHER
MINAS OF COMPOSING BANI

The *Minas* adopted a tactless technique of lifting half the lines from the compositions of earlier Gurus, juxtapositioning them into a new verse-line, and after putting three or four lines in verse order added *Das Nanak* as their signature line claiming divine descent from Guru Nanak. For example, Meharban picks the following half- lines either in their original form or slightly changed form.

<i>kudrat kar</i>	Guru Nanak, <i>Sri Rag</i>
<i>paki nae pak</i>	Guru Nanak, <i>Sri Rag</i>
<i>Suhk kich terai vas</i>	Guru Arjun, <i>Var Ramkali</i>

From these plagiarized lines Meharban has composed the following verse which has no rhythm or pahi beat.

kudrat kar dikhlaiya hindu musلمان
paki nai pak *tu* ap ram rahman
sabh kich terai vas hai das nanak ke meharvan

It is with this three-line verse *Janam Sakhi* of Meharban ends. There are over 150 such verses of Meharban in his *Janam Sakhi of Guru Nanak*. The lines of each verse can be traced to the earlier composition of the Sikh Gurus.

MINA-CULT MUL-MANTAR IN GNDU MS/1245.

Pashaura Singh quotes the following Mul-Mantar from GNDU MS/1245 and has devoted over six pages of comments on it.

1> ; fsBkw eesk gby fBoGT[fBotb
nekb wofb ni Bhi ; G ; fsrb gq kfd

This is the innovative *Mulmantar* which was introduced by Meharban and his Mina-Cult after Guru Arjun had compiled the *Adi Granth*. Meharban's *Janam Sakhi* begins with this corrupted form of *Mulmantar*. This *Mulmantar* is also found in the following other manuscripts of the Mina-gurus Harji Mina and Chaturbhuj.

1. *Pothi Harji* a continuation of Meharban's *Janam Sakhi* (who claimed to be a successor of Guru Nanak).

2. *Pothi Chaturbhuj*.

Both of these works begin with the Mina-Cult *Mulmantar* and both are published by Khalsa College, Amritsar.

The following other Manuscripts found in other libraries and about a dozen Mina-Cult *deras* also have this *Mul-Mantar* as their distinguishing feature.

1. *Ramkali Omkar Vada*. In imitation of Guru Nanak's Omkar in *Ramkali Rag* (54 verses) this Mina-Cult composition has 87 verses. The plagiarizing tactics are clearly visible. Most of the lines are picked up from Guru Nanak's *Bani*.

2. *Sukhmani Sahansar-Nama*. the Manuscript of this also has the same Mina-Cult Mul Mantar. It is a composition prepared to replace Guru Arjun's *Sukhmani*. It is completely an anti-thesis of Guru Arjun's work. Guru Arjun's I Sukhmani has 24 Ashtapadis. Mina Sukhmani has 30 Ashtapadis. Guru Arjun's *Sukhmani* glorifies only God and true Saints and Illumined Mystics (*Brahm-Giani*) of God. The Mina-Sukhmani glorifies Hindu Avatars and praises 1 Rama, Krishna in order to attract Hindu Vaishnavas to I Mina-Cult fold. Historically all these works were, composed after Guru Arjun had completed the *Adi Granth*..

For Pashaura Singh to call this Mina-Mul Muntar the first draft of Guru Arjun, without giving any evidence is an absurdity of the first order. This Mul-Mantar has noth-ing to do either with Guru Arjun or with *Adi Granth*.

DISTORTION OF THE JAPUJI IN GNDU MS; 1245

It is an established fact and confirmed from many copies prepared from the original Kartarpur recension that Guru Arjun used a very authentic version of Jap ji from a copy prepared by his father Guru Ram Das. The Jap(u) in all authentic versions is found as follows:

“i g”

nkfd ; u[i [rkfd ; u[..

j ?Gh ; u[BtBe j ; h Gh ; u[..’

Jap(u)

adi sach jugadi sach

hai bhi sach nanak

hosi bhi sack.

In the beginning He was the Truth
 Throughout the ages He has been, the Truth
 Even now He is the Immanent Truth
 For ever in future He shall be the Truth.

In this GNDU MS/ 1245 Mina-Cult scribes have introduced all their innovations by distorting the text. The *Shloka Adi Sach jugadi sach* is completely removed, but used by Minas elsewhere in their own Bani. The *Jap* Text of only 40 verses had been a daily prayer of all Sikhs during the last twenty years of Guru Nanak's life. Guru Angad, Guru Amar Das and Guru Ram Das maintained the same text as authentic from 1569 onwards. Guru Arjun copied the correct text from a personal prayer Book prepared by his own father. Now in 1990 Pashaura Singh and Hew McLeod want the Sikhs to believe that a Mina-Cult Manuscript of eighteenth century full of a distorted version of *japji* was the first draft of *Japji* and *Adi Granth* hymns; that four Gurus, and even its author Guru Nanak could not prepare a final version of this most important meditation during his life time and that while Guru Nanak had time to finalize the text of all his compositions, which are longer than *Japu*, he failed to give this most important and inspired composition a final form.

MINA-CULT DISTORTIONS IN JAP(U) TEXT OF GNDU MS/1245

Guru Arjun in the first compiled volume had already stated that the *Japu* was from a copy recorded by his father in his own hand. In order to prove to their disciples that the *Bani* they were recording was from more authentic sources, Minas have even distorted lines from *japji*. We give ten lines from the first six pauries of *japji*

Text of Authentic Version

Gfynk Gyl B T{soh
 ; j i f; nkDgk by j fj sk
 fet ; funkok j Jhn?fet
 j j{wh j t{fB nkeko
 j j{wh j t{fB i hn

Corrupted Text in GNDU MS / 1245 Distortions in Italics

Gfynk Gyl Bk T{so?
 ; j z f; nkDgk by j fB sk
 feT{ ; funkok j Jhn?feT{
 j j{wh j h{ nkeko
 j j{wh j J/ i hn

; kuk ; kfj p ; ku [BkfJ
 wj j 'fe p'bD p'blin?
 ftD GkD?fe BkfJ eoh
 i 'sh f; ofm TgkUh t'yk
 ftD eowk fe fw'b?

; kuk ; kfj p ; ku BkT[.
 wj j j [fe p'bD p'blin?
 ftD GkD/fenk BkfJ eoh
 i 'sh f; ; fN TgkUh t'yk
 ftD eowk fenk fw'b?

Even in Japu this kind of innovative distortions go on to show to their Mina-Cult followers that they have a different and better copy of *Japji*. They ignored the fact that these innovative distortions changed the accentuation of syllables and the number of accentuated syllables in a line. Thus this method of distorting the metre also made the verse unpoetic and irregular.

DISTORTION BY CHANGING VERSE ORDER

There are many hymns which have been distorted by changing the verse sequence. Pashaura Singh calls distorted forms the earlier forms. When this undated manuscript form is of Meharban and Harji period and decidedly later distorted form, how can they be called earlier forms by mere application of the Latin formula. On page 118-119 of his thesis Pashaura Singh gives a well known hymn of Guru Arjun in *Rag Tilang*. We give below the correct text found in all recensions, the correct translation and then the distorted version.

Guru Arjan : *Rag Tilang*

Refrain

Mira dana dil soch
 muhabate man tan basai
 sach shah bandi moeh

(1)

didnai didar sahib
 kachh nahi iska mol
 pak parvardgar tu
 khud khasm vada atol.

(2)

dastgin dehi dilawar
 tuhi tuhi ek
 kartar kudrat karni khaliq
 Nanak teri tek.

TRANSLATION

Guru Arjun : *Rag Tilang*

Refrain

O my King of kings (*Mira*) 17

O Embodiment of Wisdom

This thought and reflection

Has come to my mind.

Your Love illumined with Your Presence (*Mhabate*) 18

Ever dwells in my mind 19 and body

You are the true King of Kings

You are the Emancipator from bondage.

(1)

Lord, to see the vision of Your Presence,

With my inner eyes

Is precious beyond price.

O Omnipotent Protector and Nourisher

You are Pure and Perfect

O Self-Created Lord

You are Great and Immeasurable

(2)

Lead me with Thy Hand, Lord.

And inspire me with divine value

Thou and Thou Alone art One

You are the refuge of Nanak

O Creator and Maker of Cosmic Nature.

Adi Granth, Rag Tilang, p. 724

On the same page of *Adi Granth* there is a hymn of Guru Arjun beginning with a line *karte kudrati mustak*. In the ten lines of this hymn nine line are so shamefully corrupted that no one knowing the ABC of poetry can ever think that such ugly unpoetic and incorrect words can ever come out of the pen of Guru Arjun.

*Lines as Found in All
Authentic Rcensions*

krqy kdrql mīsqw
dln dnlAw ek qhl
Aīcrj qrw rlp
kaw jwxl clqu qry
idnsu rlix is qD ArwDy

*Lines as Found in Mina-cult
GNDU MS/1245*

krqy kdrql mīsqw
dln dnlAw ek qhl
Acrj qrw rlp
kvx jwxl clqu qry
idnu rlin qu ArwDy

Aj rñell Xir bñdy	Aj rñelAelr bñdy
ginh ais ky sgl AñPl qry j n	ginh En ky AñPl j y j n
gr imil nñnk blJAñ	imil plr nñnk blJAñ

The italicised words are the distortions which Pashaura Singh and McLeod call the first Draft of Guru Arjun. Throughout the *Adi Granth* the word *Azrael* is correctly written by the Sikh Gurus and Sheikh Farid. No one has ever used the word *Ajraeeyer* for *Azrael* anywhere. Only ignorant and mischievous corrupters of fake *Rani* like the Minas-Cult do it in order to corrupt the 'authentic' hymns of Guru Arjun. No historic recension has ever given this completely distorted reading. Only Dr Hew McLeod and his headless research students like Pashaura Singh can attribute such preposterous language and poetry to Guru Arjun.

SHOCKING ALTERATIONS IN VAR GAURI OF GURU ARJUN
(FOLIO 323 TO 328 OF GNDU Ms/1245)

In Gauri Var of Guru Arjun the *Pauris* are intact and have few errors. But all *shlokas* have been removed from their proper places and attached to some other *Pauris* while *shlokas* have been completely eliminated. Some *shlokas* are called *Dakohas* a Multani name for a couplet.

But the most sacriligious and stupid arbitrary mis-placement is of verses attached to some *Pauris*. In place of the appropriate *shlokas* some verses have been picked up from Guru Arjun's well known cm positions *Phunhe* of 23 verses on P. 1361-1363 of *Guru Granth* and *Gatha* a composition of 24 verses on P. 1360-61 of *Guru Granth*. *Shlokas* connected with *Pauri* 16 are removed and re-placed by *Phunhe* verses 11 followed by verse 7. *Pauri* No. 17 of Guru Arjun's *Var Cauri* has two *shlokas* in au-then tic text. These *shlokas* have been removed and re-placed arbitrarily by verse 10 from *Phunhe* followed by verse 18 form *Gatha* of Guru Arjun. This pick and choose malformation and distortion is the most stupid thing the

Mina-Cult scribes of this GNDU/MS 1245 could do. This pattern is followed by them in a number of other places. My I ask Christian scholars and experts on the text of, the Bible just one question: "How would they feel if some genius like Dr Hew McLeod produced an apparently old Manuscript in which passages from Sermon on the Mount are shifted to the Psalms, and verses from Solomon's "Song of Songs" are shifted to the Fourth Gospel and this rare genius claims that this document is older than the Books of Wisdom in Old Testament. And when he is asked to give any internal or external evidence he recites a Latin or Greek formula like the Tantrics reciting magical mantram: *lectiones arduae*. If the canon of unusual readings is applied to determine the age of a document, then it can certainly be placed anywhere. The erratic whims of such academic researchers of Toronto University can present any absurd illogical non-sense to conceal their ignorance behind these Latin or Greek utterances. If we were to list all the distortions in this Manuscript, they will require over two hundred pages along with the correct text found in hundreds of authentic recensions.

ELIMINATION OF BHAGAT-BANI AND LUDICROUSLY STUPID COMMENTS

Ragas were inseparable part of the hymns of the Guru. All the Gurus who composed hymns that were to be sung, fixed Ragas to them which his successor never changed. Authentic *Bhagat Bani* also became a part of the *Bani Pothis* collections. The hymns of Sheikh Farid and Jayadev were collected by Guru Nanak. Just as Guru Angad, Guru Amar Das and even Bhai Gurdas have commented on many verses of Jap(u) meditation, to elucidate and give deeper meaning of Guru Nanak's hymns. The Sikh Gurus have written some commentary hymns in some verses of the Bhagats. Some of these great saints whose hymns are selected for *Adi Granth* lived centuries earlier and in an entirely different religious atmosphere and cultural *milieu*. There are some verses of Sheikh Farid written

with the background of a life-long self-mortification. While the Gurus appreciated the real mystic and moral fervour of these verses, they did not wish that these should be taken literally. Even Farid recommended detachment and trust in God and not self-mortification to his disciples.

The person who has prepared this manuscript has completely removed the Bhagat-Bani in order to please Brahmanical Hindu Vaishnavas. Mina-Cult people called themselves *Bhagatias*, a word used in Punjab for Vaishnavas. There are no doctrinal differences in the *Guru-Bani* and *Bhagat Bani*. Anyone who has dared to remove *Bhagat Bani* from *Adi Granth* has been excommunicated. No one can ever say that Guru's Bani is superior to *Bhagat-Bani*. For the Sikhs the bani of Sheikh Farid and Kabir is as much the Word of God and True *Bani* (*Sachi Bani*) as the *Bani* of the Sikh Gurus.

BHAGAT BANI INTRODUCED TO ATTRACT LOW CASTE PEOPLE TO SIKH-FOLD

The most mischievous suggestion in this thesis is made to project another *harum scarum* theory of Hew McLeod. Although the Text of MS/1245 has no *Bhagat -Bani*, Pashaura Singh turns to Kartarpur to record twice in his thesis (pages 26 and 174 of Thesis) to heedlessly support Hew McLeod's theory that the purpose of including the *Bhagat-Bani* of low-caste medieval saints was none other than attracting disciples from low-caste Hindus. The number of these hymns of low caste Bhagats also was gradually increased in proportion to their support to Sikhism. On pages 26 and 174 of his thesis Pashaura Singh refers to Kartarpur Bir saying that Bhagat Dhanna's hymn "*Gopal tera arta*" in Dhanasri Rag and Ravidas's hymn *Begampura sahar ko nau* were interpolated in the seven-teenth and eighteenth centuries reflecting a situation in which Jats and cobblers were attracted into the Sikh fold in large numbers. These hymns are found in all recensions prepared before 1700 A.D. and were among the first important hymns of Ravidas and Dhanna. No one had

ever changed a word not dared to interpolate in Guru Gobind Singh's authorized version prepared at Anandpur called *Adi Singhasan Damdama*. I have two dated recensions prepared during the life-time of Guru Gobind Singh, before the *Adi Granth* was installed Guru. These hymns are in their proper places even in much earlier recensions. The suggestion that they were interpolated in seventeenth or eighteenth century is highly mischievous and blasphemous.

This theory of Hew McLeod also suggests that because the largest number of hymns included in *Adi Granth* are those of Kabir (weaver: *Julaha*) and Skeikh Farid (a Muslim), the largest number of followers of the Sikh Gurus obviously were weavers (Julahas) and Muslims. Next in importance and numbers as followers were tailors inspired by Namdev's Bani and cobblers because of Ravidas. Jats should have been minimum as in *Adi Granth* hymns of a Jat saint are only a few. By making such unsubstantiated suggestions I do not know whether Hew McLeod and Pashaura Singh are making a fool of their readers or the Canadian academic world or themselves. No one who has even a rudimentary knowledge of Sikh history believes in such harum scarum bluff theories of Hew McLeod, projected through Pashaura Singh.

BLASPHEMOUS SUGGESTION OF RANJIT SINGH AS FINAL COMPILER OF STANDARD EDITION OF ADI GRANTH

There are more than half a dozen contemporary historical evidence of the installation of *Guru Granth* as Guru by Kavi Sainapati: *Guru-Sobha Granth*, Bard Nath Mall, Bhai Nand Lall and other contemporaries of Guru Gobind Singh who had spent nearly their whole life in the Guru's durbar. The most important document is *Hukamnama* of Mata Sundari, wife of Guru Gobind Singh, now in the possession of Bhai Chet Singh of Bhai Rupa village which strongly condemns those cults whose leaders tried to become eleventh Guru of the Sikhs. In it some cults are named. Besides God and the *Shabad* (Word of the Guru)

manifest in Guru Granth no one was to be the Guru. Bhai Nand Lall was with Guru Gobind Singh during his last days and stayed with Mata Sundari at Delhi for nearly two decades writes: He says

He who wishes to see the true Guru
 Let him go and see the Granth.
 He who wishes to speak with the true Guru,
 Let him read and meditate
 On the Word (*Shabad*) in the Granth.
 He who wishes to hear the Word of the Guru
 Let his heart and soul
 Listen to the Word of the Granth.

Bhai Nand Lall: Rehatnama

Quoting Hew McLeod as his sole authority Pashaura Singh writes, “A careful survey of the early manuscripts reveals that there was no one version of the *Adi Granth* that was accepted by all the Sikhs in the eighteenth century. Maharaja Ranjit Singh abolished the *gunnatta* (collective decision of the community). He also made efforts to bring forward the doctrine of Guru Granth, a doctrine which affirms the authority of a Scriptural Guru.” (Thesis p. 82-83). “It is quite possible that Maharaja Ranjit Singh appointed a council of prominent Sikh Scholars to prepare the authorized version of the *Adi Granth*”. (Thesis P. 84).

History cannot be out of fantasy theories and wild imaginative suggestions. Neither Hew McLeod nor Pashaura Singh explain how over a hundred dated copies of the authentic version of *Adi Granth* still exist all over India and even in Kabul and Dacca which were written and completed long before Ranjit Singh was born. Ranjit Singh never summoned a council either of saints or of scholars on any religious issue. But during the last 25 years of his life the atmosphere of his durbar was so full of voluptuary activities backed by Dogra Chiefs of Jammu and Kashmir that we have given documentary evidence to show that even the High Priest of Golden Temple considered his sons’ frequent visits and involvements in Court

affairs an insult to his prestige and position.

HEW MCLEOD'S AND PASHAURA SINGH'S DEFINITION OF
FUNDAMENTALIST SIKH SCHOLARS

Hew McLeod and Pashaura Singh give fantastic definition of fundamentalist scholars. Sikh scholars who try to fix only one meaning to a text are called fundamentalists while those who according to their knowledge and spiritual perceptions give more than one interpretation are liberal. There is no such division amongst Sikh theologians. According to this division Bhai Vir Singh is liberal while his brother Dr Balbir Singh is a fundamentalist.

When the Gurus or Bhagtas wrote the hymn they had in their mind one meaning and only one experience and vision. Different scholars try to reach this real meaning in different ways. No scholar throughout Sikh history has ever claimed that his meaning and interpretation is the final and the only correct one. Bhai Vir Singh told me that he tried to record all the written traditions so that the scholars in future may not have to search them and reflect on them separately. Interpretation of *Adi Granth* requires the following equipment for its study. (1) Good knowledge of Prakrit, Apabhramsa, Punjabi and Persian.

(2) a good knowledge of Semitic as well as Hindu-Buddhist doctrines. (3) Most important of all an intuitive perception and experiences of the moral and spiritual experiences of the hymns is essential. (4) A good knowledge of the Grammar of *Adi Granth*. If any of these is lacking the interpretation will reveal the shortcoming. There is no such thing as Singh Sabha tradition, Udasi tradition, etc. *Faridkot Tikka* was prepared during Singh Sabha Movement. Pashaura Singh gives it a fanciful name of Intuitionist. Bhai Vir Singh started work on his exegesis when he left the Singh Sabha Movement far behind him and even Akali movement was on the decline.

SHABAD-SHLOKA DEFINITION

Pashaura Singh tries to give a novel interpretation of

Shabad-Shloka relation. The word Shabad is used in a number of senses in Sikh Scripture. It is used for *Gurbani*, Un struck Music, Name of God. The Shlokas are generally connected with *Pauri* in *Vars*. The word *Pauri* is the exact Punjabi translation of the word *Sura*. Both these words mean step of a ladder by which a person mounts. When a *shloka* is attached to a *padavali* and not a *Pauri*, the *padavali* is called *Shabad* which means a hymn. We have given our comments on the odd and irrelevant comments of Pashaura Singh in his thesis. He has neither examined the Kartarpur recension, nor the Goindwal *Pothis*. His comments on other recensions are extremely superficial and he says nothing positive or substantial about the texts of these recensions. His attempt to upgrade this Mina-Cult GNDU MS/1245 of eighteenth century and place it historically above Kartarpur recension with the magical trick of Latin formulas and McLeod-Style utterly incorrect and misleading of the type he uses for *janam-Sakhis* has ultimately boomeranged on him. As his guide, Dr Hew McLeod does not consider it necessary to give any historically reliable evidence for all his recklessly hostile assumptions, conjectural statements. Pashaura Singh also fails to quote a single trustworthy historically correct statement. On the other hand all well established published and un-published documents and studies on *Adi Granth* contravene and controvert all his capricious and fantastic statements picked up exclusively from Hew McLeod's books, or superimposed on Pashaura Singh's thesis by his Guide.

CALLIGRAPHY AND INDEX

Pashaura Singh is absolutely wrong when he says that the calligraphic style is the same as that found in two Goindwal Pothis available. The Goindwal Pothis consisted of the Bani of Guru Nanak, Guru Angad and Guru Amar Das. The Bani of Guru Ram Das and Guru Arjun were outside them. As each Pothi has on the average 300 hymns, the total number of Pothis having the Bani of the Gurus and Bhagtas should have been at least eight. The calli-

graphic style of the Pothis is distinctly different from that found in GNDU MS/1245. Pashaura Singh also is wrong when he says that the whole GNDU MS/1245 is in one hand. It is written at least by four or five scribes. He attributes the writing to Bhai Gurdas and suggests that an entirely different hand in the end means that Bhai Gurdas improved his handwriting.

What Pashaura Singh calls a unique feature, it actually exposes the Manuscript to be fake from one end to another. Each *Rag* has a separate index, but both Pashaura Singh and his guide fail to note that these indexes do not tally with the contents. No page or folio number is given.

It is quite obvious that these Indexes are picked up from some other collections without checking whether they would fit in here or not. The order of the *Ragas*, the order in which different chhandas are placed are all irregular and not found either in any Pothi or recensions of *Adi Granth*.

Following his Guide Dr Hew McLeod, Pashaura Singh time and again tries to prove that there was no authentic version which was installed by Guru Gobind Singh as the Guru. As Hew McLeod has a sustained tendency of rejecting or ignoring all historically correct documents and never quoting any historical document in support of his own fantasy theories, both he and his headless students like Pashaura Singh reject what all European and Indian scholars have accepted. Even Dr Ernest Trumpp confirms this historical fact, when he says.:

“The Guru felt that his dissolution was near at hand, and ordered his Sikhs to keep ready wood (for cremation) and shroud. Having done so they all joined their hands and asked, “O true Guru, whom will you seat, for the sake of our welfare, on the throne of the Guruship?” He answered: “As the nine Kings before me were at the time of their death seating another Guru on their throne, so shall I now not do, I have entrusted the whole society (of the disciples) to the bosom of the Timeless Divine Male (*Akal Purkh*). After me you shall everywhere mind

the book of the Granth-Sahib as your Guru; whatever you shall ask, it will show to you. Whoever be my disciple, he shall consider the Granth as the Form of the Guru.” Hav-ing uttered these verses he closed his eyes and expired A.D. 1708 (pp xcvi).

Dr Hew McLeod and his students like Pashaura Singh have gone far beyond even Dr Trumpp in constructing utterly false history and unfounded mendacious doctrines which no Sikh worth the name ever accepts.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. Pashaura Singh's Ph.D. thesis "The Text and Meaning of *Adi Granth*" submitted to University of Toronto in 1991 came to the notice of Sikh Institutions and Intelligentsia when it was widely circulated. Dr. Hew McLeod was Pashaura Singh's Guide in this research work.

Almost all views expressed in this thesis have been challenged by Sikh writers in U.S.A. and Canada. Neither Pashaura Singh nor Dr Hew McLeod have been able to defend their views. In Punjab the issue was virtually ignored at first. I received a copy of Dr Pashaura Singh's thesis on 20th November 1992. In December 1992 a protest agitation and criticism of Dr Piar Singh's book in Punjabi "*Gatha Sri Adi Granth*" flared up. I have refrained from expressing my opinion in Newspapers and magazines. I was able to acquire a zerox copy of major portions of GNDU MS/1245 and Dr Piar Singh's book on 9th January 1993. I have expressed my views after a thorough study of Pashaura Singh's thesis and Dr Piar Singh's book.

2. Winand M. Callewaert et al: *The Hindu Padavali of Namdev* :A Critical Edition of Namdev's Hindi Songs with Translation and annotations: Moti Lal Banarasi Das, Delhi 1989.
3. Agehananda Bharati: *The Tantric Tradition* p. 102
4. Heinrich Zimmer, "*Ewiges Indian*". p. 81 f.
5. Lama Anagarika Govinda: *Foundations of Tibetan Mysticism*.
6. *mul maritar hari nam rasayan*
kahu nanak pura paya.
(A.G. Guru Nanak Maru, p. 1040)
7. *Gurmaritara chitar nanak dukh na thivai*
(AG. Guru Arjun. V. *Cujari* p. 521)
8. (a) *gurmantar shabad sach dina ram*
sach shabad dhyaya

marigal gaya chuka manahu andesa

(A.G. Guru Arjun. *Vadhans* p. 576)

(b) Gurmaritar avakhad nam dina

(A.G. Guru Arjun *Maru* p. 1002)

9. Lama Anagarika Govinda : *Foundation of Tibetan Mysticism* p. 255

10. Then Baba Nanak came and settled at Kartarpur. He put away the Udasi robes of a holyman He put on worldly dress, and established his own Pontific throne (manji) and preached like a prophet The Ganges flowed backward when he reversed the tradition and selected Angad a disciple as his successor

His sons refused to live in complete obedience;

Their minds were not pure and receptive,

Guru Nanak gave expression to inspired *Gurbani*

Which shed Light and dispelled all darkness

There always were discourses and discussions

on divine knowledge and experience

Unstruck Music awakened many a sleeping

minds and consciousness.

Early in the morning the disciples meditated on and

ricited *Jap* in the evening *Sodar* and *Arti* were sung.

(Bhai Gurdas: *Var* 1, *pauri* 38) Thus *Jap*, *Sodar* and *Arti* had already become canonized prayers during the life time of Guru Nanak, when he settled at Kartarpur.

11. Addressing Mula Khera Guru Nanak said: "No matter where you live, if you mould your life according to the principles of Sikh doctrines, you shall be serving me, living in my Presence and under my divine protection. My physical personality is only on apparitional form of my Inner Self and Personality. But the Word of God which shines in my heart and soul in my spiritual body. It is the Attributeless Form (*Nirgun svarup*). If you meet only my physical Person you have to part with it sooner or later. But if you meet my Inner *Mystical Personality* which is identical with the Word of God *Shabad* you will never be separated from it. You will be with me in mind and spirit all the time." (Bhai Mani Singh: *Sikhan di Bhagat Mala* Sakhi 3. Ms f. 44.)

12. Bhai Mani Singh': *Sikhan di Bhagat Mala* Sakhi No. 88.

13. Long before this controversy appeared in the Press I had already paid tribute to my friend Dr C.H. Loehlin, in Chapter 16 of this book. Whenever he passed through Ludhiana he always stopped to spend a few hours with me. My son and daughters still remember him with great respect and affection. He sent me all his books and papers. Now even the Executive Director of Presbyterian Retirement Community Center Santo Domingo, Ave Duarte has confirmed that he never wrote this article which was

cooked up by Hew McLeod Group and published after his death in *Sikh Courier* and *Sikh Review*. Dr C.H. Loehlin's views are clearly expressed in his last book from which I have quoted extensively.

14. Pashaura Singh's *Thesis* p. 25
15. Kesar Singh Chhiber: *Bansavalinama*: Ch. 5
16. *ibid*
17. *Mira* is derived from the word *Mir* (Sovereign) out of which *Miri* and *Piri* doctrine is derived. We find the word *Mira* in Guru Nanak's Bani a number of times.
18. *Muhabbale* is defined by Cyprian Rice as the mystical state of Love, consummated in vision or in union as it is the final goal of the wayfarer. All other stages are but preludes or consequences and effects of Love (*The Persian Sufis* p. 59).
19. The word *man* means mind, heart and soul.

APPENDIX – 11

DR PIAR SINGH'S BOOK: GATHA SRI ADI GRANTH

Dr Piar Singh was lecturer of Punjabi literature in Government College, Ludhiana. He shifted to Guru Nanak Dev University where after retirement from Punjabi language and Literature Department a special cell was created for him on the recommendation of Dr Madanjit Kaur, Head of Department of Guru Nanak Studies of the University. He became a McLeod fan by translating one of his book in Punjabi; and by similar services of translating books of Vice Chancellors in good Punjabi, he acquired an enviable position in University administration.

It was a mystery to me till last week (January first week) how Pashaura Singh's thesis came to be linked with Dr Piar Singh's book *Gatha Sri Adi Granth*. But now after reading the book and the thesis, the nexus between the two is quite clear. Dr Piar Singh admits in his book with considerable pride that it is he who persuaded the University to buy GNDU MS/1245 as a rare *Bir* (recension) of *Adi Granth* in 1987. Sikh Intelligentsia working on the sources of Pashaura Singh's research, report: "Pashaura Singh starts research in 1987 in Toronto, he comes to India in 1990 only. How could he, sitting in Toronto, work on GNDU MS/1245 on which no one had published any article and submit his thesis in 1991." It is known to very few persons in the University administration that but for Hew McLeod's views and comments and his full moral support, Dr Piar Singh's book might have gone unnoticed and a major part (more than half) would have carried forward objective research on old recensions of *Adi Granth*. For this major portion Dr Piar Singh leans exclusively on

the published and unpublished works of others; but his troubles and undoing begin when he gives his original research work and comments on Goindwal *Pothis* and GNDU MS/1245. He out-Herods Herod when he surpasses Pashaura Singh's research comments with his detailed and well documented comments. Whether Dr Piar Singh owes his comments to Pashaura Singh or Pashaura Singh got the moral courage to present Dr Hew McLeod's views from Dr. Piar Singh becomes a moot point.

Before we discuss these documents as presented by Dr Piar Singh, we must discuss the main sources of Dr Piar Singh's book some of which were controversial and I happen to be involved in the controversy. We must also discuss the unpublished sources, and labour of scholars which have been tactfully used by Dr. Piar Singh.

G.B. SINGH'S BOOK SRI GURU GRANTH SAHIB
DIAN PRACHIN BIMN

The year 1944 was virtually the beginning of my literary career at Lahore. I contributed to almost all Punjabi magazines. The literary atmosphere was very inspiring. Harkrishan Singh, editor of *Punjabi Sahit* published this book. Reviews and opinions appeared in *Akali Patrika* and *Punj Darya* and there were quotations from the book which were highly inflammatory but were not in the book. Bhai Jodh Singh joined the agitation on the *Ragmala* issue and so also Principal Teja Singh. Most of these critics were actually attacking the publisher. There was a hue and cry for banning the book. I am even now deadly against banning of books. G.B. Singh as Post-Master General travelled a lot and in 1915 had written good articles. Now he became an atheist and wrote on the virtues of materialism, theism in *Preet Lari*. There were serious flaws in the book, particularly his disrespectful language, but I expected that some one should criticize his findings and debunk his research. After two months of fiery agitation the book was about to be banned when I wrote a long article to defend the book against banning. The article entitled "*Ilal da nau chowdhary*:" become a leader in mis-

chief making.” I criticized all critics by name, starting with Mubarak Singh, Panj Darya, Bhai Jodh Singh, all friends. Copies of the magazine were widely distributed. The agitation died down in a matter of days. The book was saved.

Later on, I found that G.B. Singh had not been either factual or honest in reporting. I met Harkishan Singh in London in 1976. God alone knows how I found courage to face the whole Sikh Press, when I was in my mid-twenties. This is one book on which Piar Singh leans heavily.

SWAMI HARNAM DAS’ PURATAN BIMN TE VICHAR 2 PARTS.

(UDASI CULT-WRITER)

Swami Harnam Das was scholar of *Dasm Granth and Sarb Loh Granth*. He was an angry and embittered man and felt that the Sikh leaders were not giving him an opportunity to work freely and that they were paying too much attention to Adi Granth studies. He met me almost regularly every three or four months. When I read his book I frankly told him that he has done considerable damage to his own prestige and reminded him that no *sampardaya* had respected and propagated the teachings of Guru Granth as did Udasis. He should not be a stigma on his own *sampardaya*. I urged him to work on *Dasm Granth* and *Sarb Loh Granth*. We were not able to find a good copy of *Sarb Loh Granth*. At last we found one at Nanded prepared by Baba Mit Singh, a great scholar. The Nihang leaders helped him and he not only prepared an annotated copy but also published three large volumes. It is a work of great scholarship. His work on *Adi Granth* is quite unreliable and has a negative approach. Dr Piar Singh leans on him heavily and at places works on his lines.

GIANI GURDIT SINGH’S ITIHAS GURU GRANTH

SAHIB: BHAGAT BANI BHAG

Giani Gurdit Singh first life-secretary and then life-president of *Singh Sabha Shatabdi Committee*, who had access to a good deal of material which he was expected to use presents some new facts. He does not know English

and has been unable to tap non-Punjabi sources. In this finely printed book with traditional approach Giani Gurdit Singh lands himself in blunder land of his own making. He makes Sheikh Farid, Jayadev, Kabir, Ramanand, Namdev contemporaries and disciples of Guru Nanak. He even ignores Bhai Gurdas's historical statements which place these *Bhagtas* in proper historical perspective. It is an attempt to make Sikh readers believe fantastic suggestions. Giani Gurdit Singh appears to ignore the fact that dozens of books have been published on the positive dates of the lives of Jayadev, Namdev, Kabir, Farid, Ravidas in English and regional languages. Dr Piar Singh depends on the material provided by this book also.

For reasons best known to him Dr Piar Singh ignores some of the important views of Bhai Vir Singh, Prof. Sahib Singh and other scholars who have devoted a life time to Guru Granth studies.

BHAI RANDHIR SINGH, RESEARCH SCHOLAR, S.G.P.C. :

SHABAD-VIGAS (UNPUBLISHED)

Bhai Randhir Singh spent years in studying various recensions. He spent three weeks studying the two MSS of *Adi Granth* which I have. His book was kept by *Punjabi Bhavan*, Ludhiana for five years for publication where Prof. Pritam Singh and Dr Piar Singh were all in all. After his death a copy of the manuscript passed to the hands of Prof. Pritam Singh who was Head of Department of Guru Nanak Studies for many years. The other copy has been tactfully used by Dr Piar Singh in his book.

Dr Piar Singh can certainly have considerable claim of original research and even more original and startling comments on one *Goindwal Pothi* (known as Ahyapur, now Jullundur-Pothi). He has given even more detailed and astonishing appreciative comments on GNDU MS/1245. I have not studied the *Goindwal Pothis*, though I had been looking forward to getting a copy of both and study them in detail. So I will confine my comments and observations to Dr Piar Singh's euphoric comments on this Manuscript / 1245 and his observations on the compilation of

the authentic version of *Adi Granth*.

1. A collection of hymns is even today called a *Pothi* while a copy of complete *Adi Granth* as compiled by Guru Arjun and later canonized by Guru Gobind Singh with his father's hymns included in them is called *Adi Granth Bir* or *Guru Granth Bir*, a complete recension. Dr Piar Singh calls GNDU MS/1245 a *Vilakhan* or unique *Bir*. Canonized Scripture. He tells us that it is through his efforts that it was acquired.

2. Dr Piar Singh devotes two pages to the appreciation of the decorated pages and the fake handwriting attributed to Bhai Buddha. He appears to believe that it is the handwriting of *bazurg*, aged Sage, Bhai Buddha. He calls it *amahurat shloka* (auspicious benedictory *Shloka*).

3. Pashaura Singh reports (Thesis P. 27) "The Introductory note written in the beginning of the manuscript claims that "there is a benedictory autograph written in Guru Hargobind's blessed hand on the fourth leaf:

Dr Piar Singh avoids referring to it. Both Dr Piar Singh and Pashaura Singh have rightly reported that an autograph in the form of *Mul-Mantar* written by Guru Tegh Bahadur is pasted on it on a different piece of paper much later.

4. Dr Piar Singh then draws the attention of the reader to what I have proved is Mina-Cult *Mul-mantar*. Even though the correct *Mul-mantar* is before him in the hand-writing of Guru Tegh Bahadur he does not hesitate to suggest that Mina-Cult *Mul-mantar* is older than the one used by Guru Arjun and all other Gurus.

5. Just as Mina-Cult *Mul-Mantar* is used in this Manuscript the corrupted *Handalya* version is recorded in Jullundur) Goindwal *Pothi* along with other extraneous material, beautified with ornamental decoration. Piar Singh considers this also an older form and has written many pages on the intellectual exercise Guru Arjun must have undergone to improve the *Mul-mantar*. I have proved by quoting from *Meharban's janam Sakhi* edited by Dr. Kirpal Singh and *Pothi Harji and Pothi Chaturbhuj* that this is Mina-Cult *Mul-Mantar*. It is worthwhile refreshing Dr Piar Singh's

memory, and reminding him that out of the fourteen 'Forewords' written to the janam-Sakhi one of them is by Dr Piar Singh. Out of the twelve Forewords written to Harji Pothi and Chaturbhuj Pothi one is in English and that is by Dr Hew McLeod eulogizing Meharban's *Janam Sakhi*. Both Dr Piar Singh and Dr McLeod have known that this Mul-mantar used in GNDU MS/1245 was exclusively concocted by Mina-Cult rivals of Guru Arjun and is found only in later Mina-Cult Manuscripts. The same Manuscript with this Mul-mantar is now made the first draft of *Adi Granth*. Both of them have known since 1962/ 1969 that this is a Mina-Mulmantar rejected by the Sikh Gurus and the Sikhs.

6. Dr Piar Singh admits that Bhagat-Bani is not included in the GNDU MS/1245 even though it is found in *Goindwal Pothis*. To call a collection having no Bhagat Bani and the Raga Chapter sequence made topsy-turvy an *Adi Granth* recension (*Bir*) is a blasphemous statement. In order to please the upper caste Hindus the Mina-Cult completely removed Bhagat-Bani. Any cult or any group who removes Bhagat-Bani is ex-communicated from the Sikh Panth. This tradition has been repeatedly established in Sikh history. Guru Hari Rai refused to see the face of his otherwise talented son Ram Rai when he distorted one line of a hymn of Guru Nanak for fear of offending Aurangzeb. Dr Piar Singh and Dr Pashaura Singh want Sikhs to believe that for five generations the Gurus could not finalize even the *Mul-Mantar* and all the ten Gurus could not prepare an authentic version of *Guru Granth* which was to be their Living Guru.

7. Dr Piar Singh now comes to Guru Nanak's composition *Jap*. He admits that Shloka *adi Sach jugad Sach* has been removed. He gives almost Pashaura Singh's arguments that the Shloka was inserted by Guru Arjun in a later and revised version of *Japji*. He wants all Sikhs to believe that Guru Nanak was such a poor poet and prophet that he could not even finalize *Jap* during his life of 70 years. I have quoted from Bhai Gurdas Var 39, Pauri (Appendix pp 354-355) proving that *Mul-mantar* was in the

10. Dr Piar Singh praises this manuscript/1245 for one more unique feature. Every Raga has a separate contents

page (*tatkara*). Piar Singh analyses the contents page of Sri Rag and faces the situation that the first line of the contents page does not tally with the text. He then observes that the contents pages are lifted from some other *Pothis*. This also means that this hotch-potch of distorted verses in different Ragas were stitched together at random and in odd sequence. The contents pages were also either carelessly written or lifted and put into this Manuscript where they do not fit in at all. This also suggests that pagination was done on the side margin where the page number is generally not put in old authentic recensions.

11. Dr Piar Singh goes on quoting most of the distortions, undesirable alterations, changes in the compilation arrangement fixed by Guru Arjun and finalized by Guru Gobind Singh by adding Guru Tegh Bahadur's hymns. Dr

Piar Singh finds justification for all alterations. He says on page 147, that these innovative alterations and changes are *laukik dakhla-andazi* (interference or distortions in the interest of popular demand or popular interest). It had to be done, he says "to give *Gurbani* the status of *LokPriyata*: mass popularity. This way the doors of the common man had to be knocked to let *Curbani* enter their homes": *lokan da darvaza khatkhatana paya*. This was also done to fulfil the *sangitak loran* of the composition which all the Gurus from Guru Nanak to Guru Arjun failed to do. "If I have failed to translate the Punjabi idiom of Dr Piar Singh, I stand corrected by the author of the book or other learned lecturers and scholars of the Department of Guru Nanak Studies or even by the learned Vice-Chancellor who has written an admiring Foreword to this book and has been a teacher of English for many years in Delhi. What all this means can also be explained by them. I am also not such an expert in music as Dr Piar Singh claims to be and who has the audacity to assert that the cult manipulators who have distorted *Gurbani* from one end to another had much better knowledge of Ragas than all the Gurus from Guru Nanak to Guru Arjun. This special knowledge of the Ragas was known either to the Mina-Cult gurus

or to learned men in that tradition like Dr Piara Singh and Pashaura Singh. But all this is beyond my comprehension.

12. There are new compositions attributed to Guru Arjun and Guru Amar Das which the compiler of *Adi Granth* forgot to collect and the author of GNDU MS/1245 found them and preserved them and the credit for their discovery goes to Dr Piara Singh (See his book *Gatha Sri Adi Granth* p. 152-153).

13. Dr Piara Singh admits the existence of all other distortions which I pointed out while writing on Pashaura Singh's thesis, but like an ambitious lawyer who mints money by loudly and confidently defending thieves, crooks, criminals, villains and lawbreakers, Dr Piara Singh loudly defends every concoction, distortion, manipulations fake composition in MS/1245. For him the work of these heroes of his zealous admiration are wonderful; and he has logic and reason to explain away and defend all their literary crimes and offences. I admire Dr Piara Singh for this pro-fessional courage and for his literary talent to say at mid-night. "I see the sun shining brightly. Why should I care if others do not see it. It must be on the other side of the planet."

14. But from Page 156 onward of this book Dr Piara Singh's talent and genius as a research scholar of *Adi Granth* studies reach new heights. It was in 1987 that GNDU MS/1245 was discovered. It was in this year that Pashaura Singh started his work on this very Manuscript in Toronto. It was in this year, as Dr Piara Singh tells us in the Preface that a special cell for *Adi Granth Studies* was created for him in the Department of Guru Nanak Studies under Dr Madanjit Kaur. Pashaura Singh has produced his thesis while Dr Piara Singh has produced the book *Gatha Sri Adi Granth* in five years. His comments on the following important hymns which are completely quoted in his book, but are given briefly and translated with exact references deserve a special attention of the common reader and the learned scholars.

15. On page 156 of his book Dr Piara Singh quotes

the following hymns from the Manuscript/1245 :

*mere saha mai har darshan sukh hoe
humari vedan tun janta saha
avar ke janai koe: refrain
sabhna vich tu vartada saha
sabh tujeh dhyaveh din rat.
sabh tujhi pasahu mangde saha
tu sabhna karahi ik dat.*

My Benevolent Lord,
I will attain peace and happiness,
If I have a glimpse of the Beloved;
You know my inner agony, O Benevolent Lord;
Who else will ever know it.
Your Light pervades all hearts and O Lord
Day and night all worship and contemplate Thee;
All pray and supplicate Thee,
For all they need O Benevolent Lord;
You give to all one precious gift.

Dr Piar Singh after quoting this hymn from folio 681 of the GNDU MS/1245 says, “This *shabad* is not to be found in Guru Granth Sahib, but is found in Goindwal Pothis of Baba Mohan. This very popular hymn of Guru Ram Das is found on page 670 in *Rag Dhanasari* in all printed editions and authentic manuscripts available. It is very much there in all recensions mentioned by him and in all printed editions.

16. On page 157 of his book he quotes the second hymn from *Suhi* Guru Arjun; the first two lines are:

*gur pura jab bhae dayal
dukh binsai piiran bhai ghala*

When the Perfect Guru
Was compassionate and Gracious
All sorrow and suffering was dispelled
My spiritual striving were fruitful.

Piar Singh says that this hymn is not found in the printed *Guru Granth*. This hymn is very much there in the printed *Guru Granth* on page 743. Only in the Mina-Cult versions given by him spellings, and texture of some words is changed, such as *daya* and *ghal* is changed into *dayala* and *ghala*.

17. On Page 163 of his book he quotes another long hymn of Guru Arjun:

*guru gopal gur govinda
guru dayal sach bakhshinda
guru sast simrit khat karma
gm pavitar asthana hey.*

The Eternal Guru is my Protector
The Guru is my Lord
The Guru is the Compassionate One
He is the True Merciful Forgiver
The Guru is my Shastra : Book of Wisdom
The Guru is my Code of Conduct
The Guru is the holiest of the holy shrine

Dr Piar Singh in a very learned tone declares that this hymn is also not found in the printed version of Guru Granth. We find this Sohila of Guru Arjan in Maru-Rag on page 1074-5 of the printed version of Guru Granth. It is conspicuously marked out with a special invocation *ek omkar sat gur prashad* and is easily detected.

18. On page 164 of his book he reveals his knowl-edge of the printed version of *Guru Granth* by putting on record that the following hymns found in GNDU MS/ 1245 are distorted and incomplete and are not to be found in *Guru Granth* (prin ted version).

*har ke lok sada gun gavahi
tin kau miliya piiran dham.*

The true devotees of God
Ever sing His praise and glory,
They have attained,
The divine State of perfection.

This verse of Guru Arjan is found in distorted form in GNDU MS/1245 in which the first stanza of the hymn is placed in the end, while in the printed version we have the whole hymn in uncorrupted form, on page 1151, *Rag Bhairon*.

(b) The second hymn is also quoted on page 164 of the book which Dr Piar Singh says is not in Guru Granth.

anik gian anik dhyān
anik jap jap tap;

Countless are schools of knowledge
Countless are the concentrations
Countless are the meditations
Countless are the ascetic practices.

The hymn of Guru Arjan is found in Bhairon Rag of printed version of *Guru Granth* on page 1153. These are not the first two lines but the third line. The first two lines of *refrain: rahau* are missing in MS/1245.

This is wonderful research work done by Dr Piar Singh on GNDU MS/1245 which is called by him a wonderful and Unique Bir Adi Granth. This is the type of research he has done on Goindwal *Pothis* and other recensions on which he has quoted quite unreliable statements of G.B. Singh, Swami Harnam Das and Giani Gurdit Singh and added to them his own discursive comments quite respectfully. This is the type of research work this learned scholar has done in a special cell created for him for *Guru Granth Sahib* study between 1987-1992. This wonderful research work has been checked, found correct and certified as a very important publication by an equally learned Head of the Department (by Rotation System), Dr Madanjit Kaur and bears the confirmation of hard labour and unique research by the learned Vice-Chancellor of the University whose deep interest in religious literature no one doubts. I do not blame him for his ignorance about the material in the book because his Foreword is a formality accomplished in a formal manner. But in future the Vice-Chancellors of this University are expected to appoint young and learned professors as Heads of the Department of Guru Nanak Studies and Guru Granth Studies, who at least know what is there in the printed version of *Guru Granth*.

I do not blame Dr Hew McLeod for having suggested this type of research to Dr Piar Singh, but the fact the Dr Piar Singh virtually follows Pashaura Singh's thesis without mentioning it, during the same period and on the same Manuscript which he and Pashaura Singh call a earlier

Draft or a Unique Bir (recension) is not incidental. The undeclared nexus between the two is quite visible to the naked eye of every discerning scholar of Sikhism.

CONCLUSION

I do not know whether God has been successful in creating Man in his own Image, but Dr Hew McLeod has certainly inspired and induced Pashaura Singh and persons like Dr. Piar Singh to weld their mind and thoughts in the framework of his hostile theories and assumptions. A scholar asked me to put in a nutshell my views about Pashaura Singh's thesis and Hew McLeod's thought pattern. It is like two scorpions in a bottle labelled "*A Critical Study of Adi Granth Text.*" The attention of a serious researcher is not drawn towards *Adi Granth* about which one does not find a single positive truth but no one fails to see the two scorpions: the bigger one imparting and inducing the little one in its art of hurting and wounding everything it touches. This is done to tempt the younger scorpion to carry on the game of the bigger scorpion in presenting ugly images of Sikh prophets and their scriptures. No Ph.D. thesis has drawn so much criticism of Sikh intelligentsia and scholars as this work. In retrospect it has helped in the unmasking of the bigger Scorpion.

So far as hermeneutic studies of Sikh Scriptures are concerned, the Text and the Spirit of the *Guru Granth Sahib* apart from inadvertent errors of Scribe, are considered divinely inspired (*dhur ki bani*) and unimpeachable. They are not intellectually constructed mediocre hackwork as imagined by gentlemen like Hew McLeod, Pashaura Singh and Piar Singh. All serious Sikh scholars admit that errors of tradition and history and unconscious mistakes made by the scribes of the written manuscript and the printing mistakes of present day printers need correction by competent scholars. There is no difference in the text of authentic canonized recensions of *Guru Granth*

Genuine mystical and spiritual experiences authenticated by *Gurbani* are infallible and can "be affirmed only by illumined saints, but dogmatic theological doctrines

and interpretations given by various theologians and traditional or philosophic exponents can be questioned by every knowledgeable scholar. Even the theological interpretations given by Jathedars of *Takhats* or the High Priests of Golden Temple are never accepted as final and authoritative. No exegesis, no commentary by any individual or, group is accepted as final. In the light of Truth the shortcomings of all interpretations can be questioned by saints and scholars, who not only study but live according to the ideals of *Gurbani*.

Moral, social and cultural ideals authenticated by Gurbani and the divine commands of the Gurus are infallable but the sectarian innovations of Sikh *sampardayas*, reformist groups, of unintellectual and unspiritual saints and Babas who ignore the doctrines of *Guru Granth* can be questioned and rejected, if found untrue and cult-variations. Truth which can be tested, perceived and experienced by all unprejudiced religious lovers of Truth is infallable while falsehood based on prejudiced and ma-levolent thinking and writing is criticized, condemned and rejected by all enlightened and learned Sikhs.

GLOSSARY

Adi Granth: lit: The Primal Book, the First and original Sacred Book of the Sikhs: see *Guru Granth Sahib*

Akal.Purkh : *Akal* Deathless, Immortal, Timeless, Eternal *Purkh* : Sk. Purush, lit person, Being, Primeval Being or Spirit which is the Soul of the Universe *Akal Purkh* is the Eternal Deathless Supreme Being. It is an important Attributive Name of God in Sikh Scriptures.

Akali Eighteenth century saintly Sikh warriors who were dedicated only to the cause of the freedom and *dharma*. It was applied to those Nihang regiments of warriors who did not have any testimonial ambitions or political aspiration beyond fighting for the freedom and integrity of the Sikh people.

Mter 1925 this term began to be applied to the members of a Sikh political party *Akali Dal* which was formed in 1919 for the liberation of Gurdwaras from corrupt *Mahants*. The leaders of the first phase of *Akali Dal* were men of high character, self-sacrificing and a source of inspiration for non-violant political movement to all other political parties. But *Akali Dal* after partition in 1947 split into two groups, one claiming to be fighting the Congress rulers in Delhi and the other as Panthic leaders who were actually collaborators and played treacherous roles. Now the *Akali Dals* are split into 12 different *Akali Dais* each named after its leaders family name or name of a popular dead leader. Some of these *Akali Dals* are naked tools of the Delhi rulers, a few are surrogate groups pretending to be saviors of Sikhs, but hoping that the Central Government will some how install them as power-brokers. Some few are fighting for the cause in the wrong way without going to the masses whose untold sufferings are large in their hearts.

Akal Murat : *Akal-Murati* The word *Murat* originally means embodi-ment, manifestation, incarnation, pel'Sonification or visible image. In Hinduism the word *Murti* is used exclusively for painted images of deities, idols, pictures and paintings of various gods and goddesses. In Sikh ism the word *Akal Murat* or *Guru-murti* has nothing to do with any type of image-worship or idolatry. The word *Akal-murati* or *Guru-murti* means the unvieled Light or visible Presence of God and the Eternal Spirit of the Guru, and as such the True Guru (*Satguru*) is the true

Enlightener Soul.

Akal-Takhats: lit the Panthic Throne of Eternal Lord. From Guru Nanak to the early life of Guru Arjun the Mughal emperors (Babar, Hamayun, Akbar) though initially suspicious became friendly and respectful to the Gurus. These emperors did not listen to the complaints sent against the Sikh Gurus by Brahamins and Mullas. In spite of this friendly attitude of the emperors we find a very strong protest against ruthless kings, corrupt ministers, greedy judges and religious exploiters like Brahamins, Mullas. But when Jahangir ascended the throne he was determined to eliminate many friends of Akbar and his liberal rule to win over fanatic Mullas and courtiers. The enemies of the Gurus made a false case against Guru Arjun and was tortured to death. Foreseeing the things to come, Guru Arjun employed eminent Sikhs who had worked as trained soldiers in Mughal or Rajput armies and disciplined his son to be saviour with the Sword who was to defend the Faith and helpless people. In 1606 A.D. Guru Hargobind had a full fledged army. When he was anointed Guru he had put on two swords, one symbol of the Guru as Defender of Faith (the sword of *Piri*) and the other as Defender of Political freedom and integrity of the Sikhs (Called the sword of the *Miri*)

If anyone sat on a raised platform 2 or 3 feet high and kept an army and a war drum he was considered a rebel who challenged the political authority of the Emperor. In 1609 A.D. Guru Hargobind built a throne resembling the throne of Mughal emperors, but higher than it, kept a war drum right in front of the Harimandir (Golden Temple). While the temple was meant for prayers, worship, *Kirtan* from dawn till late night, Akal Takhat was the place where National gatherings of the Sikh Gurus took place, and where after formal prayers the Gurus gave audience. Three more Takhats were built subsequently, Takhat Keshgarh at Anandpur Sahib at the foot of Shivalik hills, Takhat Patna Sahib at the birth place of Guru Gobind Singh and Takhat Hazur Sahib at Nanded in Maharashtra. The Takhats became the rallying places for the Sikhs in the North, East, South while Akal Takhat and Golden Temple became place where representatives of the whole Sikh Panth assembled and took National decisions while all the three Takhats were equal in sanctity and importance. Akal Takhat has always been the place of central authority and Golden Temple is supreme amongst all the holy shrines of the Sikhs. The Sikhs assembled here on Baisakhi and Diwali days, the two days when the disciples from far and near came to offer the homage to the Gurus. Whenever in history the Golden temple and Akal Takhat have come under seige of Mughals, Afghans and the British there has been an unprecedented militant reaction to liberate it from the clutches of the Rulers resulting in untold sacrifices but ulti-

mate victory. At present the Golden Temple Complex is under seize of Delhi Rulers since 1984, resulting in continuing repression, and killings by police, para-military forces and militants.

Akhand Path: The word *Akhand* means continuous and uninterrupted *Path* means reading of the Scriptures. A reading of the Guru Granth within seven or more days, by individual or group readers is known as *Sadham Path*. But a reading of the *Gum Granth* by a team of readers, lasting 48 hours is known as *Akhand Path*. Reciting the Koran continuously is a well known tradition in Islam. The Sikhs follow the same tradition. Baba Narayan Singh father of the eminent lexicographer Bhai Kahn Singh could recite the whole Guru Granth in one continuous sitting.

Amrit means Nectar, Ambrosia, Elixir of life. In the Sikh scriptures it is used in many senses.

Amrit-Vela : ambrosial hours, dawn most suitable for meditation

Amrit-sar Pool of nectar

Amrit-Jal : ambrosial water

Amrit-bachan : ambrosial word. *Gurbani*. *Amrit-Bani* : the ambrosial hymns. *Amrit-shabad* : the word of God as elixir of life.

Amrit-Pahul : the water of Baptism. Water was used as a medium for preparing baptismal water (Amrit from Guru Nanak to Guru Gobind). From Guru Nanak to Guru Gobind Singh's life till 1699 all ten Guru baptized as originally instituted by Guru Nanak. He touched a bowl full of water with his right foot and recited compositions. It was known as *Charan-pahul*. In 1699 A.D. Guru Gobind Singh introduced the baptism of double-edged sword which was prepared by five religious and spiritually disciplined Sikhs, which continues to this day.

Anand-marriage rites: (Anand: bliss: joy) name of Sikh marriage rites quite distinct from Hindu Vedic rites of marriage. In this ceremony four hymns known as *Lanvan* are read and sung which the couple circumambulate around the Guru Granth. The actual marriage ceremony takes about half an hour.

Amritsar : the holiest city of the Sikhs.

Ardas : (*persian*) *Arz-dasht* a humble - supplication. Name of congregational prayer originally composed by Guru Gobind Singh, followed by remembrance of five Beloved ones, the four sons of the tenth Master, Saints, martyrs, hermits sages of all religions, and closing with actual individual or congregational supplication.

Arya Samaj movement was started by a Gujrati monk named as Swami Dayanand Saraswati (b:1824) who did not have much success in making his ideas acceptable in the South or Bengal where Sanskrit

studies were far beyond his own reach. Swami Ramakrishna record his meetings with Swami Dayanand thus: "I found that he had acquired a little power; his chest was always red. He was in a state of *Vaikhara*, speaking on scriptural subjects night and day, by the application of grammar, he was twisting the meaning of many words. He had in his mind the egoism." When Sri Ramakrishna applied his ears to his chest, he said to Swami Dayanand, "You are a learned Scholar but you are empty within."

This Sanskrit Scholar who was spiritually and ethically empty from within found a recently conquered British State of Punjab a fertile ground for attacking all religions in the worst language and defeating the Muslim, Christian and Sanatan Dharama leaders who were always on the defensive. But Giani Ditt Singh a young Sanskrit Scholar took the offensive and unseated him from the pedestal of an unchallengeable Sanskrit scholar of Hinduism.

Under this movement of the Aryasamajis, they have always pitted themselves against Sikhs even in the last four decades on every issue that was politically and culturally favourable to them. Even though some liberal Aryasamajis have resumed these moves in recent years, the official Aryasamajis with a complete hold on Urdu and Hindu Press of Jullundar have opposed Punjabi language (their mother tongue), Punjabi culture (their own culture) and have helped Delhi Rulers in establishing the most ferocious Hindu hegemony and Hindu linguistic imperialism which is the root cause of all the present day political religious and cultural troubles in Punjab.

Avtar: manifestation of a Deity into human or less than human form, which is not God. In Sikh scriptures even the descent of human soul into lower spirit as rebirth in animal souls is called avtar. The avtars of Vishnu, Brahma, Shiva are mentioned but it is considered a sin to call these deities God. An *Ansh Avtar* is the partial manifestation of a Deity or a cosmic divine Power created by God. Avtars are creatures of God and never God the Supreme Being. In the Guru Granth it is generally used in an etymological sense.

Baba : (*Persian*) : Father, Grandfather: Head of a Religious order one who is renowned for virtues and uprightness. *Turkish*, missionary, Preachers, Sheikh. In Mughal courts the princes were addressed as *Baba*. Before they became kings Jahangir and Shah Jahan were addressed as Babajahangir and Baba Shahjahan. This custom was adopted in the darbar of the Sikh Gurus. The Guru was addressed as *Sacha Patshah* the true King and his sons were addressed as Baba (Princes). We have Baba Sri Chand, Baba Gurditta, Baba Ajit Singh, Baba Fateh Singh.

Bairagi : *Vairagi* : The word Vairagi means apathy towards worldly interests, stoicism, awakening of the spiritual consciousness in

ones mind. When Ramanand's followers broke away from ortho-dox Vaishnaism they formed a Varigi sect open to all lower caste.

Baisakhi : Indian New Year Day. During the Guru period it fell in the last week of March. These days it falls in the second week of April. Guru Amar Das fixed it as National Assembly Day when Sikhs from distant places assembled at the feet of the Guru. For those who were not able to come on Baisakhi day, came to the Guru on Diwali day in October. It was during one such annual gathering on the Baisakhi (New Year Day) in 1699 Guru Gobind Singh ordained the Khalsa Holy Order.

Bani : lit-speech, word, language; sound, voice, utterance, a literary work or composition; hymns; divinely inspired poetical composition. In the *Guru Granth* there are two major divisions made by Guru Amar Das: *Sachi Bani*, Hymns inspired by truth and revelation of higher mystical experiences. *Kachi Bani*, poetical expressions based on imitations and false and hypocritical pretention; it may be inspired by devotion to petty gods and goddesses or it may be utterance of false prophetic and hypocritical cult saints.

All the hymns in *Guru Granth* and canonized Scriptures are considered *Bani*. The works of Bhai Gurdas and Bhai Nand Lall have the status of *Pramanik Bani* authentic canonized Scriptures. The hymns of the Gurus are classified as *Mahalla* (Mansion) I, II, III, IV, V, IX and X. All Gurus being one in Spirit use the signature name of Nanak. The hymns of medieval saints coming from Hindu tradition are called *Bhakta-Bani* and are addressed as

Bhakta (Bhagat) *Bani*. The hymns of Sufis is called Sheikh (Pir) *Bani*. The hymns of the minstrels is called *Doom-Bani*. All are collectively called *Gurbani* because they are part of Holy Book which is revered as the living embodiment of the Ten Gurus.

Bhagta (Bhagat) : One who believes in Love is the sole guarding spirit to higher spiritual life. In Hinduism there are Devi Bhaktas, Krishna Bhaktas, Ram Bhaktas, Shiva Bhaktas and Vaishnav Bhaktas. Each system has its own rulers, ceremonies and devotional patterns. In Sikhism true Bhakti is the intense love of God alone, and the Sikh Guru accepted and always treated Sufis and low caste Hindu Bhaktas as a part of the Sikh Brotherhood.

Bhai : Revered Brother and saints, sufis in Sikh history were addressed as Bhai. The word saint was never used for saints till the middle of nineteenth century when the saint-cults emerged like mushrooms and died a natural death after a good deal of cheap propaganda.

Bir: A bound volume of sacred scriptures is called *Guru Granth Bir*, *Dasm Granth Bir*

Buddha (Bhai) born in a poor Jat family of Kathunangal in 1506 A.D..

Father's name Sugha Randhawa, mother's name Guarain. Came into contact with Guru Nanak at the age of 10. He married a peasant girl named Morvan. He passed away in the village in 1631 A.D. during the life time of the sixth Master Guru Hargobind. Bhai Buddha is the first of the most sacred Patriarch of Sikh history who was appointed the master of ceremonies. The first five successors of Guru Nanak were anointed by Baba Buddha. Guru Nanak established a unique precedent by appointing an enlightened Sikh Saint from a Shudra Jat family as master of ceremonies which throughout India was performed mostly by Brahmins or at the most by Kashtryas. After the death of Baba Buddha his descendants sons, grandsons became the Masters of ceremonies. As a Patriarch of first order he was so much respected by Guru Nanak's successors that they bowed before him, touched his feet in reverence and would never say "no" to any suggestion coming from him.

Charan Pahul : Baptism of the Lotus Feet i.e. the initiation ceremony of the Sikhs, instituted by its founder Guru Nanak, which was replaced by initiation with the double edged sword by Guru Gobind Singh in 1699. The new baptism was to create the Khalsa Holy Order. See Khalsa Holy Order.

Darbar Sahib: popular name for Golden Temple Complex see Golden Temple, Harimandir, Akal Takhat.

Darshan ; lit (1) Vision of divine Presence (2) philosophic system, *Chhe Darshan* Six Hindu Systems, *Gurmat Darshan* Sikh Philosophy.

Dasm Granth : Guru Gobind Singh was a Poet-historian and philosopher of wide vision. He wrote many different types of works (1) Philosophic works like Jap, Akal Ustat, Gyan Prabodh etc. (2) Historical; works which include his own Autobiography and all great figures of ancient history which are referred in the Guru Granth. (3) A Dictionary of the Names of weapons. (4) Triya Charitra, which depict the social, cultural and historical role of women at their best and worst through stories resembling the stories of Bocucaus Decameorn and Arabian Nights. Many stories have historical background. These separate works were first com-piled by eminent contemporary Apostles; Bhai Mani Singh and Baba Binod Singh. There are pages of original manuscript. There is a third copy prepared by Baba Dip Singh. There are a few other quite authentic copies prepared from these original codes, short-sighted 'writers' and scholars who have neither cared to study the whole *Dasm Granth* nor have the equipment and ability to understand and interpret, even such well known Philosophic Composition as Akal Ustat and Gyan Prabodh, have displayed their intellectual and literary short-coming by projecting their rejection slips without understanding any composition.

Dervish, Fakir: Sufism centers around “poverty” and mystical path. Poverty is called *faqir* and for it are formed the words *faqir*, poor and dervish “poor mendicant”. Outward poverty was considered essential for inward spiritual richness.” He who has no wish for himself in this world and the next, is considered a true *faqir* in sufism and Sikhism. Guru Nanak insists that a dervish is one who knows patience (*Sabr*) , contentment (*riza*) and lives in devotion and prayer.

Dharma: The word is used by the Sikh Gurus and Bhaktas in Guru *Granth Sahib* in various senses such as social and cultural duties, religion, faith, scriptUral laws, higher moral and spiritUal laws, ethical conduct and the righteousness in personal and social life, Ultimate Justice Truth and Righteousness Doctrines and spiritUal practices which led to enlightenment.

Dharam Raj: A Cosmic Being created by God who is Judge of the dead, who holds up the mirror of conscience in which every one faces the reward and punishment of his own deeds. Dharam Raj bows before saints and considers himself their servant.

Dharam Sat: The Temple of Righteousness and Faith. It was originally used for Sikh temples. Other words used for temples were *Sangat* and Gurudwara. Guru Nanak considers this earth to be a Temple of God for human being. (*dharti dharamsat*)

Gian, gyan ;Knowledge; the Sikh scriptures discuss all types of knowl-edge; intellectual or mere bookish knowledge which a man acquires for prestige but does not practice what he preaches through his books; worldly or professional knowledge which a man acquires for earning his living; knowledge of human nature, the world and universe which is helpful in understanding life and human society; real knowledge comes from intellectual percep-tion of divine within us and the Presence of His Lights within the Universe. The first stage of this path to knowledge of Reality begins with knowledge of inner Self *apa-Chanana*. By contemplating on divine Attributes one knows His Attributes and reaches His Presence. Human soul can attain perfection through experimental knowledge of God (Braham Gyan). The knowledge of Ultimate Truth is revealed to the learned who contemplate Him and practice what they preach, or the saints of God through gracious illumination.

Golden Temple : The third Guru of Sikhs, Guru Amar Das asked his son-in-law (would-be-successor), named Jeth Chand to build a holy shrine and around it a holy city. He bought land which was con-nected with village Sultanwind, Tung, Gumtala and Gilwali. The place was visited by Guru Nanak accompanied by Guru Angad Dev. The whole site after the construction of new city was known as Chak Guru Ram Das. Initially the tank of Santokh Sar was dug.

Amritsar city was founded, the residential building known as *Guru Ka Mahal* was built. Workmen of all trades were invited. The digging of the Sacred Pool and the site for Golden Temple was started in 1573 A.D. and was completed in 1577 A.D. In the present site of Golden Temple a small temple was constructed in which prayers and services were begun. Bhai Gurdas says “Guru Ram Das dug an ambrosial pool, and in the centre lighted a Lamp of Perennial divine Light *Puran tal Khataya Amritsar vich jot jagai*. It was Guru Arjun who invited Miyan Mir to lay the foundation stone of Golden Temple and build a pucca temple and tank, the originality of which has been maintained. By the time Temple construction was complete the Adi Granth was compiled and its original copy placed in the sanctum sanctorium in August 1604 A.D. or perhaps earlier. The date of installation is celebrated every year.

Lakhpat Rai the Hindu Diwan of Zakriya Khan gave an impression to the Lahore Viceroy that it is the Amritsar shrine and the sacred Pool which was the source of strength of this unique inspiration of the Sikhs. He laid siege to it resembling the present siege by Delhi Rulers and the Sikhs had to fight for its possession. Under the same impression that it was source of strength and unity, Ahmed Shah Abdali destroyed it and damaged the Temple and Akal Takhat thrice, but in none of the invasion was the foundation of the Temple and Akal Takhat ever destroyed. The Sikhs rebuilt it every time till they captured political power and ruled over Punjab.

Once more after 1984 Blue Star Military attack of Mrs Indira Gandhi's rule the Golden Temple Complex and most of the historical Sikh Temples were controlled by surrogate leaders.

Gorakhnath and Nathpanthis : Gorakhnath (9th century) was one of the outstanding *Siddhas* who according to Guru Gobind Singh inspired many Princes to renounce their Kingdoms and popularize his Hathyoga system which is enunciated allegedly by him in his well known classic *Hath-Yoga-Pradipika*. In Buddhist literature Gorakhnath is called a magician. Their distinctive marks are *Kanphata* (Split ears) wearing large ear-rings, and carrying a begging bowl and a bag of cloth. They were divided into 12 sects and according to Guru Nanak's *Japji* the Ayi Panth founded by a woman disciple of Gorakhnath was the most important. The word Ayi means Mai (Mother). It has its headquarters in Hardwar and Bombay. Bhai Gurdas says that Guru Nanak visited all centres of Nathpanthi yogis in India, debated with them on all issues raised by them till they submitted to his way of thought and mystical experiences (*gosht kar kar kan phadaya*). It is the power of those Nathpanthis which began to decline after the advent of Guru Nanak.

Gurbilas : *lit: Divine Sport of the Guru* the *Janamsakhi* in prose were the hagiographic narratives of Guru Nanak's life. In the seventeenth and eighteenth century the *Gurbilas* (Lives of sixth and eighth Guru) were written on the pattern of Guru Gobind Singh's *Bachitar Natak*". This tradition along with *Sakhi Pothi* tradition continued to record Sikh history in eighteenth and nineteenth century.

Gurdas (Bhai) was son of Ishar Das younger brother of Guru Amar Das. He is author of 40 vars, each having 20-49 verses. Each verse is written in Punjabi language which is, refreshingly modern in every literary era. He has also written 675 *Quatrains* in Braj on mystical experience in the light of Indian thought and musical schools. He was co-compiler of *Adi-Granth* and the most learned poet-scholar and philosopher of Guru period. Like Baba Buddha he was the pillar of Sikhism for over a century. His humanity and devotion were unique and inspiring. When Guru Hargobind was imprisoned in Gwalior fort he looked after the services of Golden Temple Complex. The works of Bhai Gurdas, besides those of Bhai Nand Lall are the only works of contemporary Disciple-Poets which were blessed by the Gurus. They are recited in the Golden Temple and all other Sikh Shrines along with hymns of *Guru Granth Sahib*.

Gurmat : *Gur-mat* : Philosophical and religious system of the Sikh Gurus; Sikh Philosophy, mysticism and ethics.

Gurmatta : A collective national decision of the Sikh Panth taken at Akal Takht in which all samarpardayas and all sections and representatives of the Panth took part. It was presided over, by Akal Takhtjathedar and five other prominent Sikh divines selected by representative organisations. The militant leaders could give suggestions, but none of them individually or their groups could impose their decisions. The gathering was called *Sarbat Khalsa* and the decision passed through resolution called *Gunnatta*, and were final and irrevocable. The *Sarbat Khalsa* gathering held by militant groups were unrepresentative and unacceptable to the Sikh masses and no one cared for their decisions and calls. The *Sarbat Khalsa* held by the Delhi Rulers was a disgraceful act in which the Central ministers and other Sikh congressites passed and pretended to be saviour of the Sikh Panth after collaboration with Mrs Indira Gandhi in 1984 Bule Star attack on the Golden Temple Complex.

Gurmukh : The word *Gurmukh* is used in three senses. It is used for God as mukhi, Supreme Guru :Enlightened. It is used for the Guru as Supreme Apostle of God. It is used for illumined Sikhs who are also called *Sanmukh* Sikhs.

Gupurb an auspicious occasion or day connected with the life of the Gurus such as day of birth, installation as Guru, day of death or martyrdom.

Guru Granth Sahib: The holy Book of the Sikhs which has a long history. Earlier works from which it was compiled were known as *Pothis* (or collection of Hymns) when the first volume was com-piled it was known as *Pothi Sahib* or *Granth Sahib*. Copies of the original were prepared and each Guru stressed the importance of preparing copies which were installed in important missionary centres. Guru Gobind Singh installed it as the Guru, or Holy book with Apostle Light and Authority embodied in it. It was installed in the Golden temple by Guru Arjun just two years before his martyrdom or perhaps earlier in 1604 A.D. Many copies of the original exist in various historical shrines. Guru Gobind Singh started preparing copies at Damdama Sahib in Anandpur a few years after he was installed the Guru. Hundreds of this authentic codex were prepared during the life time of Guru Gobind Singh and his contemporaries like Bhai Mani Singh and Baba Dip Singh, are found all over India. Thus the holy Book is revered as Eternal Enlightener and no human being however a great saint he may be can claim to be above the *Guru Granth Sahib* and *Sadh Sangat* congregation of the Saints seated in the Presence of The *Sadh Sangat*.

Haumai .. I-am-ness, egoism, self-concert.

Hukamnama : Edicts or encyclic letters of the Gurus written to various *sangats* away from the place where the Guru resided. We have hukamnamas of all the Gurus from the sixth to tenth Guru. They are of great historical importance.

Janarnsakhhi : Hagiographic narrative life-story of Guru Nanak. The ear-liest *Janamsakhi* was prepared with the help of scribe Paida Mokha, for which the horoscope and stories of Guru Nanak's earl}' life were procured through his life-long companion Bhai Bala, whose family well is still there at the birth place of Guru Nanak (Nankana Sahib) now in Pakistan, and the place where the *Janarnsakhhi* was written and Bhai Bala was cremated, is still preserved.

Karah Prasad : Sacramental food prepared from five ingredients, fire, water, sugar, ghee, flour. Bhai Gurdas calls it *Panchamrit* and *rnahaprasad*. It becomes *prasad* when prayer is recited over it.

Karam : It is used in many senses in *Guru Granth Sahib*.

(1) *Karam*, (Persian) Generosity, a magnificence, clemency, kindness, benevolence, grace.

(2) *Karam*, (sk) action, performance, duty, deed, a religious act or rite.

(3) Fate, destiny

(4) The doctrine of Karma associated with rebirth.

(5) Karma as ritual rites of Hinduism.

Kirtan .. singing of hymns in *ragas* on musical instruments.

Katha .. Sermons delivered on the basis of interpretation of selected hymns of Guru Granth.

Kirpan : sword

Kaur : suffix added to the names of Sikh women which means “Princess”. Earlier it was commonly used by Rajput princesses.

Khalsa : In the Mughal period Khalsa was the Crown land on which no one except the King had his ownership. when during the life time of Guru Hargobind the *masands* had started baptizing their followers, those baptized by the masands were called Sahalangi Sikhs or associate or Sahajdhari Sikhs, but those baptized by the Guru were called Khalsa Sikhs. When Guru Gobind Singh founded the Khalsa Holy Order, he transferred the Guru’s authority to baptize the Sikhs to ordained Khalsa Sikhs, as a prelude to abolishing Personal Guruship for ever. Bhai Gurdas a contemporary of Guru Gobind Singh calls this phenomenon *Gur Sangat Kini Khalsa*. The whole Sangat of the Guru becomes *Khalsa*. The Sikh Panth came to be known as the Khalsa Panth.

Khanda : double edged sword.

Langar: The *langar* in the Persian world was the name given to an alms house, *langar-khana* was the house for entertaining the poor where they could find food and rest. The Sufi *Khanqas* had a community kitchen open to all. On the pattern of these langars attached to Sufi *Khanqas*, Guru Nanak made langar a free and permanent institution. From the time of Guru Nanak to the present an open *langar* is attached to all important Sikh shrines where people of all nations, men, women and children of all religions, the saints and sinners, the friends and foes come and take their food. No one as a Sikh dares to question from where they have come. It is the Guru’s langar for all human beings.

Man: used in Sikh scriptures for mind, heart, consciousness.

Mani Singh : Bhai Mani Singh was born during the life time of Guru Har Rai. He belonged to a family of learned Rajput warrior scholars known for their many sacrifices even during Jahangir’s rule. His grand father died in the first battle of Guru Hargobind. Out of his ten brothers nine laid down their lives for the cause of Sikhism. Bhai Dyal Das, the eldest suffered martyrdom along with Guru Teg Bahadur. All his sons who were well known warriors died fighting for Guru Gobind Singh. Bhai Mani Singh rose to the highest position of Diwan of Guru Gobind Singh. In 1700 A.D. he was sent along with 25 companions to wrest control of Golden Temple Complex from the break away cult of Minas. Bhai Mani Singh then acted as High Priest of Golden Temple, the most outstanding leader of the Sikhs till his martyrdom in June 1734. He established a Theological Smaj called Amritsar Taksal which

produced disciplined missionaries known as gyanies. He compiled the sacred works of Guru Gobind Singh in *Dasm Granth*. He was the author of *Janam Sakhi* (Gur-Ratnavali) and *Sikhan-di-Bhagatmala* based on the 11th Var of Bhai Gurdas.

Maya : wealth, phenomenal world, the material attraction earthly attachment of money, leisure which creates bondage and brings sufferings. All that detracts us from the thoughts of God is maya.

Murshid : disciple.

Nam : *nam jap Gurmantra* There are two types of Names of God: the Attributive Name of God called *Kritan Nam*, and Revealed Name of God called *Sat-nam* : The Name unveiling Truth and the Light of God. The *Sat-nam* is the *Gurumantar* of the Sikhs, which is imparted to the disciple at the time of initiation.

The *Gur-mantra* is not an ordinary Word. It is a word carrying within its essence the spiritual energy, the living spirit and seed of the Presence and Light of God. This energy, this divine power is released to the consciousness mind and heart of a person who meditates on it and repeats it in contemplative solitude of dawn. It is contemplation of the word which leads to the discovery of a new dimension within our consciousness, a world of higher reality within our self. Meditative repetition of *Gur-mantra*, the *Satnam* is called *nam-jap*.

Nand Lall (Bhai) : Bhai Nand Lall Goya was a Persian poet mystic born and brought up in Ghazni in the mystical literary tradition of Sufi poets like Rumi and Hafiz. He permanently shifted to Multan where he rose to high position and was Mir Munshi of Aurangzeb's son Bahadur Shah. When he met Guru Gobind Singh, he was so overwhelmed by the divine inspiration of Guru Gobind Singh that he never left the Master's presence. He was further instrumental in cementing lasting friendship between Guru Gobind Singh and Bahadur Shah. He has left nine poetical works, the most well known are *Diwan-i-Goya*, *Zindaginama*, *Ganjanama*.

After the death of Guru Gobind Singh he stayed with Mata Sundari and Mata Sahiba Devi in Delhi. Bhai Nand Lall's works are canonized as Sacred scriptures and are sung and recited along with Gurbani in all Sikh temples.

Panth : Originally the word meant *Panth*, the same as *Marag*, or *Rah*. All three words are used in *Guru Granth Sahib*. The word then began to be used for Religious orders such as Nath Panth, Kabir Panth. For Sikhism the words used were Nirmal Panth, Sikh Panth, Gurmukh Panth during the life time of Guru Nanak. The word Khalsa Panth was used for the Khalsa Holy order and the whole Sikh nation which accepted the spiritual and poetical leadership of the four Takhts.

The word Nanak-Panthi was used by the Mughals and political

new writers for all the Sikh Gurus and even for Banda, and it was never used for Guru Nanak and his followers alone.

Patit : apostate from Sikh religion; morally corrupt person. The doors of Sikhism are always open to apostate for re-entry if he repent and accepts baptism and the Sikh Code of Conduct.

Pir, Murshid, Sheikh : These are the three names given to spiritual Gurus in Sufism when a disciple (*murid*) learns about the mystical path by serving him with devotion and humanity. The Sheikh demands from the murid absolute trust, -sincerity and devotion as well obedience. The Sheikh in return bestows on the murid, knowledge enlightenment and peace of mind. The Sheikh or the Pir helps the *murid* to purify his heart and soul illumination till he reaches the higher state.

Raga : lit. colouring, feeling, passion, loveliness and beauty of a song, musical note, harmony, melody, musical mode or order of sacred or musical formula. Originally six, Sriraga, Bhairva, Kausika, Hindula, Megha, Depika. *Guru Granth Sahib* is compiled in chapters of 31 Ragas. Music and poetry are dominant features of Guru Granth.

Rehit : Moral code of conduct imparted by Guru to the Sikhs at the time of initiation. There are innumerable Verses in *Guru Granth Sahib* describing the moral code of conduct and the character of a Sikh. When the Khalsa Holy order was addressed by Guru Gobind Singh he imparted orally the basic moral code of conduct. The same is imparted orally to this day at all the ceremonies of baptism.

Rehitnarma : When under adverse circumstances and under the influence of Hindu and Islamic society the Sikhs were not clear whether they should adopt or accept certain religious practices prevalent in society, the contemporary apostle like Bhai Daya Singh wrote *Rehitnamas*, putting on record what a Sikh should do and what he should not do. Earlier *Rehitnamas* are authenticated but many fake

Rehitnamas were written in the name of Bhai Daya Singh and Bhai Nand Lall and some *Rehitnamas* like that of Chaupa Singh were changed into family historical documents. The Sikhs read them with historical ethical interest, but never accept them blindly. Many societies print and publish old *Rehitnamas* under new names giving the impression that *Rehitnamas* differ from time to time. In the 19th and 20th Centuries some Sikh sant cults tried to popularize their external forms and dietary rules as *Rehit*, but they are neither approved nor accepted by the Sikhs collectively.

Sahaj : The highest mystical state which is also known as Transcendent state after achieving which a Sikh leads a normal human life but yet lives in a state of ecstasy and vision of His Presence. The spiritual stage of *sahaj* can only be attained through a path known

as *Sahaj Marag* a natural path in which unsocial and abnormal ascetic activities are not necessary. A path of love, service, devotion coupled with patience, sincerity, humanity leads to the mystical state of *Sahaj* in which there is a perfect balance between the natural and supernatural, and no religious activity is either unsocial or anti-social like the *hath-yoga* practices.

Sahajdhari: Novices or unbaptized devotees of Guru Nanak are called *Nam-dharik* Sikhs. During the time of Guru Hargobind they were called *Sahlangi*. Sikhs (associated disciples), but during the time of Guru Gobind Singh they came to be known as *Sahajdhari Sikhs*. Many Sahajdhari Sikhs who were exclusively devoted to meditation and prayer have been respected as great saints. Even today Sindhi Sahajdhari Sikhs are far more respected for their devotion and services to Sikhism than bearded and turbaned communists, atheists and corrupt and characterless Akalis and Congressites.

Sadh Sangat : Bhai Nand Lall in one of his verses in *Zindgi-namah* clearly states that a congregation of virtues and saintly persons alone is called Sikh Sangat or sadh sangat. A congregation of wicked and mischievous persons even when held at a holy place is neither Sikh Sangat nor Sadh Sangat.

Sant : an illumined and enlightened holyman who has saintly virtues and character.

Sarbat Khalsa : As assembly of the representative of all Sikhs having regional and organizational representation. Such assemblies were held at Akal Takhat on Baisakhi and Diwali.

Shabad : See Yak

Siddha : Perfect attaining yogic powers.

Simran : lit: Recitation, remembrance. As in Sufism so in Sikhism remembrance of His Presence by reciting or meditating on His Name is the most important spiritual exercise. Ritual repetition or muttering of His Name is not *Simran*. The upanishadic repetition of Om was in theory *Simran* but it aimed at Brahminical concept of the Absolute an abstraction. The Vaishnava, Shaiva repetition of Name aimed at reaching the divinity of Deities like Krishna, Rama, Shiva, which are creatures and created beings. The Sikh *Simran* aims at the divine Presence of God as love, beauty and truth and leads to a true vision of the light of God. *Simran* of the Guru's Word resounds with inaudible Unstruck Music (*Anhad Shabad*) and revelation of His Light in the tenth sector of our consciousness.

Singh Sabha Movement: A moderate religious revivalist movement the sole aim of which was to remove once for all encroachment of Sikh Society by Brahmanical rites and ceremonies and dominance of Hindu cultural hegemony on illiterate Sikhs who were in a state

of shock after loss of their independence. The movement was slow but achieved much.

Thug: In some parts of India the Thugs are styled as stranglers; The *Tamils* call them *Moslem Nooslers*. The Thugs were members of a religious fraternity of professional assassins once active in central northern provinces of India and in Deccan. Though the date of their origin is unknown they were active in the seventeenth century according to Hsuan Tang, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim.

Tiratha : Pilgrimage: Every religion has its principles of pilgrimage. In Hinduism rivers mountains and mythical places have become places of pilgrimage. In Sikhism only places historically connected with the lives of the Gurus and the Sikhs martyrs are holy places where pilgrims go to pay respect to these historical personalities. In every place of pilgrimage participation in prayers, worship and meditations prescribed complete the pilgrimage. Unless pilgrimage to a holy place is no supplemented with the interior pilgrimage to contemplation and meditation it is incomplete.

Vak : *Shabad* (Latin Vox) comes from root vach; to speak the Word (Shabad), cosmic Ideation, divine word, also called *kavao* in *Japji* which means God's utterance or emanation. *keta pasao eko kavao* From one utterance of God the creation manifested itself. In Hebrew the word for Light is "Aur" God said let there be Light (Aur) and there was Light.

Shabad : (Word) is used for the Name of God as the word for the hymns of the Guru Granth Sahib, and for celestial music which one hears in higher states.

Yuga : The time cycle in Indian Astrology is divided into four yugas

1.	<i>Satya</i>	<i>Yuga</i>	1,728,000
2.	<i>Treta</i>	<i>Yuga</i>	1,296,000
3.	<i>Dvapara</i>	<i>Yuga</i>	834,000
4.	<i>Kali</i>	<i>Yuga</i>	432,000

The descending number represents a moral and physical deterioration in each age. Pargitar says, This theory applies to India only. *Satyayuga* is distinguished by Truth, compassion and penance. In *Treta* there is falsehood, violence and discontent. In *Dvapara* greed, lack of mercy and fight for petty issue comes. In *Kaliyuga* duplicity, mendacity, excessive violence, sleep, fear, wretchedness prevail. In one of hymns Guru Nanak says, in all these yugas the same sun, moon, sky are there; the same rivers mountains and forests are there. What is that changes a Satya Yuga to Kali Yuga? Only human and moral values which change the age and not the nature. De-generational immorals change an age. Human beings can create a *Sat Yuga* (Kingdom of God) by improving moral character and spiritual ideals.

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Sikhism is an independent religion, complete in itself and meant for the whole humanity. Every efforts has been made by misinformed historians, theologians and journalists to present it as a branch of Hinduism. The very first revelation with which Guru Nanak was honoured - "I am neither a Hindu nor a Musalmann" - should be sufficient eyeopener for these pseudo intellectuals to know that it is absolutely independent. It is not only the Christian of Missionaries who are guilty of mis-guiding the people about Sikhism; there are Hindu and Muslim religious leaders also, who have," indulged in this task and Arya Samajists are in the forefront. While rejecting the desputed versions of the Christian Missionaries about Sikhism and its philosophy.

Dr Trilochan Singh has quoted extensively from Adi Guru Granth Sahib, Dasm Granth, and works of Bhai Gurdas and Bhai Nand Lal.

By writing this book Dr Trilochan Singh has undoubtedly rendered a great service to Sikhism particularly and for protagonists of all the faiths to remain alert about such intrusions which change the very structure of the religions dealt by these evil doers. The book is an excellent exposition of Sikh history, religion and Culture.

Dr Hira Lall Chopra
MA., D.Lit.

Dr. Trilochan Singh whose valuable researches have thrown new light on several aspects of Sikh history and religion was an authoritative exponent of Sikh history, theology, philosophy and culture. A crusading scholar, an adventurous and committed man of faith, an activist sharing his coreligionist's joys and anguish in full measure, he never compromised on Sikh Doctrines and the interest of Sikhism. He had about 20 published books and the 200 research papers to his credit which includes UNESCO Sponsored "The Sacred Writings of the Sikhs", "Guru Nanak: Founder of Sikhism" "Guru Tegh Bahadur : Prophet and Martyr", "Guru Hari Krishan" "Hymns of Guru Tegh Bahadur : Songs of Nirvana". In his mother tongue Punjabi, he wrote poetry, short stories, literary criticism and had given remarkable translations of classical writings of Plato, Confucius, Spinoza. Vivekanoand, Tagore and Radhakrishnao.

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